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INTERNATIONAL

DETENTE OPPONENTS INFLUENCE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 3, May/Jun 80
signed to press 28 Apr 80 pp 46-59

[Article by A. M. Migranyan: "The United States on the Threshold of the 1980's: A Turn to the Right"]

[Excerpts] The last days of 1979 and the first days of 1980 witnessed stormy upheavals in international relations, particularly in the relations between the USSR and the United States. The military assistance given to Afghanistan by the USSR on the basis of a friendship treaty, aimed at undermining the international counterrevolutionary conspiracy against the new order in Afghanistan, evoked a hysterical reaction in the United States. The U.S. leaders and bourgeois channels of mass influence are trying to convince the world public that the Soviet Union's actions in Afghanistan undermined the bases of detente and left the West no other choice than to impose strict sanctions against the USSR as "punitive" measures. These sanctions presuppose an extremely broad range of measures--from the prohibition of grain sales to a boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

It appears that President Carter regards the "Afghan question" as an important pretext for turning the minds of the voters away from the domestic policy failures of the Democratic Administration and as a way of winning his bid for reelection in the fall of 1980.

But more and more people in the world are realizing that the "sanctions" announced by Carter against the USSR are not in any way a result of the "events in Afghanistan." Rightist circles in the United States have long been waging a massive attack on the policy of detente and have tried to revive the cold war spirit and overcome what they regard as the American Administration's "political paralysis" and the "Vietnam complex" or "syndrome." The mass brainwashing of the population through the media and the upsurge of chauvinism fired by the administration in the United States gave Z. Brzezinski reason to declare, to the delight of rightist circles and advocates of a tough foreign policy toward the socialist countries, that the mood of the public testifies that it is losing its "Vietnam complex."⁷ This article will examine how this rightward shift in the policy of the present U.S. Administration was engineered and name the persons responsible.

The ruling Democratic Party represents a coalition of various social forces, with particularly strong influence enjoyed by the right wing, which includes spokesmen for the military-industrial complex, Zionist circles, the reactionary leaders of the AFL-CIO and rightist social democrats. The Zionists are particularly influential, as the "Jewish community in the United States, in which the Zionist outlook of influential circles is indisputable, is responsible, for example, for up to 60 percent of the funds collected by the Democratic Party."⁸

Since the beginning of the 1970's, rightist circles in the Democratic Party have taken serious steps to impose their own program on the administration, with essentially the following aims: in foreign policy--overcoming the West's "political paralysis" in the face of "communist expansion"; putting an end to the growth of communist party influence in Western Europe and other parts of the world; undermining the policy of detente, as, according to these circles, it will separate the Western countries from one another and strengthen the position of the world communist movement.

Rightist circles broke up the Democratic Party coalition at the time of the 1972 election and actually contributed to the defeat of Democratic Presidential Candidate G. McGovern, who wanted to stop the Vietnam adventure and reduce military spending and military commitments abroad. Since that time, there have been two distinct tendencies within the party--the interventionist tendency, expressed by rightist Democratic Party circles, demanding an expansionist, tough foreign policy, and the isolationist tendency, expressed by Senator McGovern's supporters, a number of progressive trade unions and other public organizations. The interventionists believed that the measures proposed by McGovern and his supporters would cause a catastrophe in Western society and that U.S. international commitments could not be reduced, particularly the support of reactionary regimes in all parts of the world.

The interventionists blamed the "irresponsible behavior" of the isolationists for the U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia and the successes of forces for communism and social progress, and launched a severe attack on them. For example, P. Feldman, representative of American rightist social democrats, stressed in his speech at the Sotsintern Congress that the greatest danger to the cause of peace and detente in Europe and the United States was not posed by American imperialist forces, but by new isolationist forces, which were demanding the reduction of U.S. military and political "commitments" abroad.⁹

In order to take control over the party, rightist circles created the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM) within the Democratic Party in 1972.

Jackson was unable to win the Democratic nomination in the 1976 election because his unconcealed attacks on the policy of detente and his demands for changes in U.S. foreign policy and increased defense spending did not appeal at that time to the American voters. Jackson's supporters from the CDM,

however, were able to include extremely important amendments in the final draft of the party election platform. As a result of their efforts, this document declared the basic principle propounded by Jackson and his followers--that "American foreign policy should revolve around the preservation of freedom throughout the world"¹¹ and that the main obligations of the United States consisted in defending "human rights" in all parts of the world, in order to create a pretext for the unprecedented anti-Soviet campaign of recent years in the United States and other Western countries. The section of the platform dealing with defense essentially sanctioned Jackson's view that the key element in safeguarding U.S. security was a balance of U.S. and Soviet strategic forces, that this balance had been tipping in the USSR's favor in recent years, that the USSR had more to gain from detente than the United States, and so forth.

The 1976 platform showed that even though Jackson had suffered a defeat, his program had won and Carter had to implement it. Rightist interventionists were quite determined to continue their efforts to ensure "effective leadership of the Western world" by the United States. It was enough to merely include Jackson's demands in the Democratic Party platform. The support of these demands by the masses necessitated a change in the political climate in the United States, which had undergone serious positive changes in the years when the policy of detente was being conducted.

In order to prevent the positive development of international relations, rightist circles launched an unprecedented campaign against the policy of detente. Attacks were also made on the international communist movement and, in particular, the essence of real socialism in the USSR and other countries was distorted. Appeals were made for immediate measures to save the West from the "communist threat." This position was reinforced by references to numerous remarks by prominent statesmen and influential journalists about the imminent death of Western society and Western "democracy."

Rightist circles feel that the prototype of defeatist attitudes can be found in the latest articles, books and statements by prominent American diplomat and public spokesman G. Kennan, who wrote, in particular, that "U.S. civilization has not progressed in the last 40-50 years." He went on to say that "American has nothing to teach the world, and we must admit that we have no solutions for the problems of contemporary human society."¹⁶

Remarks of this kind are not enough for the opponents of detente and they cite other facts which allegedly prove that the West has lost its ability to resist the onslaught of communism. In particular, this has been asserted in COMMENTARY magazine, which, according to Peter Stainfils, critic of rightist circles, is, along with PUBLIC INTEREST magazine, an official organ of the American neoconservatives.¹⁷

One prominent member of these circles, W. Laqueur, has tried to distort the essence of Soviet-Finnish relations and to frighten the entire Western world with this example. He implies that "Finlandization" supposedly signifies

a process or state of affairs in which the maintenance of friendly relations with the Soviet Union is actually restricting the nation's sovereignty.¹⁹ In contrast to this view, G. F. Kennan remarks that "Finlandization" has a positive side and that Finland, by "adapting" to these conditions, is benefiting from its relations with the West and with the Soviet bloc.²⁰ However, as pointed out above, any positive remark by Kennan in regard to Soviet foreign policy is fiercely attacked by the neo-conservatives. Laqueur says that the European countries must avoid "Finlandization" by preventing any intensification of the economic crisis, by keeping nationalism and communism from interfering with closer European unification, by preserving the strength of NATO and--what is particularly important--by overcoming "political paralysis." Otherwise, in Laqueur's view, these tendencies could make Europe "conciliatory," and this "conciliation" could lead to the restriction of sovereignty, which, in Laqueur's opinion, is the essential meaning of the term "Finlandization."²¹

After Finland, the opponents of detente attacked the policies of the already social democratic governments, accusing them of not being firm enough in dealing with the Soviet Union. According to the theoreticians of these circles, the European social democrats have engaged in "self-Finlandization" to such a degree that "European social democrats as a whole have moved from a position of friendship with freedom in the West to at best a neutral position in the continuing struggle between liberalism and communism, between East and West."²²

Particularly anxious notes are heard in statements by conservative circles in regard to the political successes of Italian and French communists. The same COMMENTARY magazine often prints hysterical articles demanding that Italy and France be saved from the imminent communist "tyranny" in these countries.²³ The relative failures of communists in recent parliamentary elections in Italy and France were largely a result of an unprecedented anticommunist campaign launched throughout the West and the unequivocal pressure exerted by the American Administration, which represented a scandalous violation of the standards of relations between sovereign states.

The neoconservatives have dictated the following conditions to the American Administration in regard to communist participation in government: "the severance of ties with the Soviet Union and the communist movement; a change of name, such as the 'Independent Communist Party' (which means, in other words, a break with the CPSU and the international communist movement); the initiation of steps to demonstrate that the communist parties are exactly what their sympathizers want them to be--that they are parties interested in profound radical reforms within the democratic framework."²⁴

In other words, the only way of gaining U.S. approval will be the metamorphosis of communist parties into bourgeois reformist, or at least rightist social democratic parties.

This means that the opponents of detente perceive the greatest threat to the West in the policy of international detente, the growth of communist

influence throughout the world and the decline of consolidating factors, and they therefore demand the revision of U.S. foreign policy and, if possible, the policy of the other capitalist countries.

For this purpose, they subjected Ford's policy to crushing criticism in the belief that it could ruin the United States and its allies. This policy was subjected to particularly rabid attacks by such anticommunists as T. Draper, N. Podhoretz, W. Laqueur and others. In this connection, Draper's article "Conciliation and Detente," printed in COMMENTARY in 1976, is of particular interest because all subsequent attacks on the policy of detente were backed up by repetitions, in some form or another, of the arguments he set forth in this article. Draper's main conclusion was that the adoption of the policy of detente by the West would signify a return to the period of "conciliation" with Hitler and that conciliation was allegedly based on detente.

In his analysis of the policy of detente between East and West, Draper confuses two different tendencies. He and other opponents of the policy of detente anxiously try to depict the change in the world balance of power in favor of forces for socialism and progress as a result of the detente policy, although this change belongs to completely different category. This change in the balance of power is a result of the entire course of mankind's sociohistorical development and stems from the nature of the present era of transition from capitalism to socialism on the global scale. Detente, on the other hand, leads to the avoidance of nuclear catastrophe, the establishment of normal mutually beneficial trade relations and cultural exchange, but it does not in any sense signify, as some opponents of this policy like to hope, the reversal of the objective course of history.

The official press of rightist social democrats is also a member of the choir of opponents of detente and anticommunists. The authors of a NEW AMERICA editorial entitled "The Communist Threat" make every effort to prove that communism is supposedly contrary to all democratic precepts and that the communists in Italy and France must be stopped.²⁷ Rightist social democrats have been adhering to this line with particular tenacity since 1974.²⁸

Attacks on detente, on the communist parties and on the idea of a communist-socialist alliance were made by J. F. Revel, the prominent anticommunist French journalist who calls himself a socialist, in his new book "Totalitarianism and Temptation."²⁹ He sets forth essentially the same ideas as those voiced in COMMENTARY, and it is therefore no coincidence that the magazine's review of this book calls the author one of the "bravest" intellectuals in Europe.

We should note that the abovementioned political scientists and ideologists, as many others, were motivated by the failure of the Vietnam adventure and the spread of isolationist tendencies in the United States to make a massive effort in recent years to prevent these realistic tendencies from gaining a foothold; they brought about a change in American political

ideology and concentrated primarily on breaking up the leftist liberal coalition. The "neoconservative" label, which is now extremely popular in the United States, has been adopted by all opponents of the policy of detente in international relations and, in particular, relations between the USSR and the United States. The overwhelming majority of these "neo-conservatives" are yesterday's liberals, who are now rallying round the Democratic Party in the United States. But whereas earlier they were in the center or even left of center, they now take a more reactionary stand, further to the right, on many domestic policy issues and almost all foreign policy issues. The members of the Committee on the Present Danger and the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, with Senators Moynihan and Jackson as its honorary co-chairmen, are neoconservatives.

In essence, foreign policy issues and an identical stand on these issues represent a consolidating factor for neoconservatives of all types. The issue of "human rights" was given a prominent place in rightist strategy for the revision of U.S. foreign policy. Rightist circles wanted the administration to interfere in the domestic affairs of the USSR and other socialist countries on the invented pretext of the protection of "human rights." The facts testify that it was precisely rightist circles in the Democratic Party that forced the "human rights" defense program on the administration. As D. Moynihan has admitted, Carter was far removed from this problem, and when the Democratic Party platform was being drafted in 1976, the Democrats had not agreed on the specific target of the American Administration's policy of defending "human rights." Senator McGovern's supporters were demanding that the dictatorial regimes in Chile, South Korea and other parts of world be condemned, while Jackson's supporters (the neoconservatives), according to B. Wattenberg, a prominent member of rightist circles, were insisting that the platform contain a statement in defense of "human rights" in the USSR and the other countries of Eastern Europe.³⁹

President Carter's comments on "human rights" in his inauguration speech demonstrated how strongly the administration's decision had been influenced by "neoconservatives" (opponents of detente), organized in the Coalition for a Democratic Majority and the Committee on the Present Danger. They work out recommendations on major foreign policy issues and force them on the administration, which places them in their entirety at the basis of its policy.

In this connection, Senator Moynihan's article on "Human Rights Policy" in COMMENTARY magazine in 1977 is of particular interest. The article contains his thorough analysis of the administration's policy on this issue and his recommendations. Considering the fact that Moynihan is backed up by the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, the members of which include the leaders of the rightist "Social Democrats of the United States," the AFL-CIO and Zionist circles, along with the political scientists associated with COMMENTARY magazine, it is not surprising that the ideas and recommendations expounded on the pages of this magazine are acted on without delay by the White House administration.⁴⁰ This is particularly true of the abovementioned article by Moynihan.

Moynihan believed that all of the administration's initiatives and actions "in defense" of human rights might come to nothing if there were no solid theoretical basis for U.S. foreign policy on this matter. For this purpose, he proposed several measures which were supposed to be carried out by the government and which, as we will show below, were actually implemented. "The administration's actions must be based on the belief," Moynihan wrote, "that human rights represent a political component of American foreign policy and not in any way a humanitarian program." The concept of "human rights" should be as much an integral part of American foreign policy, he believed, as Marxism-Leninism is in the activity and plans of the socialist countries.⁴²

Moynihan went on to appeal for serious opposition to the expansion of "totalitarianism" and said that "if anything can lend strength to the West's ideological resistance, the inclusion of the human rights issue in the foreign policy of the Western democracies can."⁴³

He then appealed for the revision of U.S. attitudes toward the developing countries in such a way as to make economic aid to these countries conditional upon their "responsible" behavior toward the United States and its allies.

In just a few months, the repercussions of the recommendations made by Moynihan and the circles standing behind him were apparent in the following steps taken by the administration. The President's National Security Adviser Z. Brzezinski officially announced the substitution of the concept of "human rights" for the concept of anticommunism, but ample evidence of the fact that this concept was adopted exclusively for the purpose of struggle against the USSR and other socialist countries and for intervention in their internal affairs can be found in a remark by Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights P. Derian. When she was asked about the double standard the United States appeared to be using in its policy on "human rights" when it ignored the violation of these rights in South Korea or Iran, she replied: "Human rights represents one of the basic elements of foreign policy, but not the only one. National security is also one of these elements, and its importance has not diminished."⁴⁴ This reply graphically illustrates the purpose of the melodramatic behavior of the Carter Administration in regard to the "human rights" issue. The next step the administration took in accordance with Moynihan's recipe, which could be called an act of revenge, was the United States' withdrawal from the International Labor Organization and its refusal to pay its membership dues because the ILO, in spite of several warnings from the United States, did not disavow or revise its resolution equating, just as the United Nations had, Zionism with racism.

In the same article, Moynihan pointedly criticized G. Kennan for remarking in his latest book that bourgeois democracy arose as an Atlantic phenomenon and that it is not a natural form of government for people living outside this region.⁴⁵

The advocates of intervention in the affairs of other countries were particularly irritated by this book because Kennan firmly stressed that the people in the United States who believe in the liberation of other people can be divided into two groups: those (Greeks, Jews, Cubans, blacks, etc.) whose interests are most bound up with the fate of people belonging to their ethnic groups, and those whose feelings about democracy are a matter of principle. As a result, the strongest pressure is exerted on the American Government to force it to defend dissidents in Russia, Castro's opponents in Cuba, etc. At the same time, as Kennan pointed out, each group reduces the issue of democracy to its own narrow interests and pays little attention to the problem as a whole.⁴⁶

Kennan's idea was more graphically illustrated by Moynihan himself in the excerpt cited above, in which he related the circumstances surrounding the inclusion of the human rights plank in the campaign platform of the American Democratic Party.

The idea that "human rights" should be the "cardinal principle of American foreign policy" was declared in the resolution of an AFL-CIO congress on international relations. Senator Moynihan spoke at the congress, attacking the USSR and the policy of detente and repeating his demands.⁴⁷

Just as in the leading political parties, however, the voices of sober-minded politicians and businessmen speaking in favor of international detente can be heard in the AFL-CIO and in the business and scientific communities.

In 1976, at the time of the events in Angola, the leader of the leftist social democrats, M. Harrington, pleaded with the United States not to intervene in the affairs of this country, stating that this could lead to U.S. involvement in Africa and the birth of a new Vietnam,⁴⁸ while a spokesman for rightist social democrats in the United States proposed effective opposition of the socialist countries, which were supposedly creating instability in Africa.⁴⁹

The leaders of some trade unions take a more sober and realistic stand on foreign and domestic policy issues. These include William Winpisinger, J. Werf, D. Fraser and a number of other progressive labor leaders.⁵⁰

Harrington pointedly criticized the position of rightist social democrats, the AFL-CIO and members of the Committee on the Present Danger who oppose detente, seeing their actions as an attempt to return to the cold war era. Harrington also remarked that these actions by rightist forces, committed from a pseudopatriotic position, would give rise to a situation in the nation in which any criticism of America's defects would be interpreted as the betrayal of American ideals and which would threaten a repetition of the McCarthy era.⁵¹

Criticizing the stand taken by members of the Committee on the Present Danger in regard to military matters, M. Harrington asserted that the

"Russian actions aimed at the achievement of a strategic balance deserve praise, as they have been taken for the sake of stability." He went on to accuse Schlesinger of taking steps, while he was secretary of defense, in the area of armaments "which naturally annoyed the USSR."⁵² The groundlessness of the propagandistic commotion over the "Soviet threat" and the USSR's alleged attempts to achieve strategic superiority has been corroborated by no less a prestigious Western source than the London Institute of Strategic Studies, which, after analyzing the correlation of Soviet and Western forces, firmly denied the possibility of a Soviet "attack" on Western Europe.⁵³ With a total disregard for the truth, however, the U.S. leaders are resorting to various types of ruses.

Each year the Pentagon makes references to the "Soviet military threat" and makes greater demands on the Congress for military appropriations. Now it has suddenly been discovered that, as the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT tells us, Soviet potential has supposedly been assessed incorrectly for the last 15 years and that "specialists are now almost unanimous in their opinion that considerable changes in U.S. strategy and a substantial increase in Pentagon expenditures will be necessary, regardless of whether the Senate ratifies the strategic arms limitation treaty with Moscow or not."⁵⁴

In this way the ground is being prepared for the nullification of the SALT II Treaty even if it should be ratified by the Senate. It is true that steps have already been taken by the administration which constituted the unilateral violation of agreements. This applies primarily to the decisions of the Washington NATO session in 1978, at which time a resolution was passed regarding an automatic annual increase in the military expenditures of the states belonging to this bloc right up to the end of this century. The next step of this kind was taken at the Brussels NATO session in December 1979, where the U.S. plan to deploy 600 medium-range missiles in Western Europe was adopted, although there were objections by some members of the organization.

All of this gives us a clear view of the unseemly activities of the U.S. Administration, which is trying to gain unilateral advantages in the military sphere and to undermine the SALT II Treaty, which took so much work to draft after 7 years of stubborn negotiation, and, in addition to all this, is trying to convince the public in the United States and Western Europe that the USSR is undermining detente with its actions. In reference to the American Administration's actions, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs A. A. Gromyko correctly said that the "common goal of these actions is evident: to disrupt the existing approximate parity of military strength between East and West, between the Soviet Union and the United States, and to strive for superiority to the socialist community."⁵⁵

Rightist circles have also attained their goals in the area of trade. The present administration is acting on their persistent demand that trade be used for intervention in the internal affairs of the USSR by curtailing trade relations with this country. This demand was quite distinctly

expressed by K. Gershalman in the April 1979 issue of COMMENTARY. He tried to prove once again that trade with the USSR, particularly in the area of new technology, would allegedly undermine the bases of U.S. security.

After attacking the particular segments of the business community that support the development of trade between the two countries, he reveals the basic goal pursued by rightist circles. Trade can be developed, even if this is unprofitable for the West, but only on the condition that it bring about the "liberalization" of the political system in the Soviet Union. The opponents of detente use the term liberalization to signify a change in the social structure of the USSR in the direction of the gradual establishment of a bourgeois democratic order. Therefore, the opponents of detente are demanding that their administration engage in trade with the USSR only on the condition that the political structure of our nation undergo changes. When they see that the policy of detente and the development of trade are not bringing about the "liberalization" of the political system in the USSR, they will regard the continuation of this policy as inexpedient.⁵⁶ In this way, rightist circles are trying to force the government to use trade as political leverage for the exertion of pressure on the Soviet Union.

The idea of using trade as political leverage is not new. Rightist circles insisted on this at the time of the Middle East war of 1973 and, in particular, at the time of the events in Angola. A study group of the London Institute for the Study of Conflict remarked in its 1977 report that Kissinger's policy had created the danger of "conciliation." Kissinger and the American Administration displayed weakness in their failure to attach the Angola problem to wheat deliveries to the Soviet Union.⁵⁷ The present Carter Administration, in an attempt to display "firmness" toward the Soviet Union, is essentially complying with rightist circles' demand to undermine detente and curtail trade, even though it is endeavoring to associate its actions with the "Afghan events."

The facts show, therefore, that the policy of the present U.S. Administration has been dictated by rightist forces since 1976, and that it reached its logical culmination point in the administration's latest actions, thereby proving the absurdity of its attempts to use the Soviet actions in Afghanistan as an explanation for its own behavior.

Although rightist circles in the United States have been able to attain many of their goals, they have failed to reach the main one--the complete consolidation of the West on an anti-Soviet basis and under the U.S. aegis. The European people and sober-minded politicians do not want to blindly adhere to the reckless line of U.S. rightist circles, which is cancelling out the positive development of international relations in the last decade, reviving the threat to world peace and poisoning the atmosphere of trust which took shape between the East and West during the years when the policy of detente was conducted in international relations. The policy of the present U.S. Administration is doomed to fail over the long range because

it is contrary to the real interests of all people, including the American public, who are striving to escape the constant danger of nuclear catastrophe and achieve lasting and secure peace for all mankind.

FOOTNOTES

7. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 31 December 1979-7 January 1980, p 36.
8. PRAVDA, 7 February 1980.
9. "Report of the 12th Congress of the Socialist International Held in Vienna 26-29 June 1972," p 45.
11. WASHINGTON POST, 18 June 1976.
16. ENCOUNTER, September 1976, pp 11, 20.
17. See Stainfilis, P., "The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America's Politics," N.Y., 1979, pp 4-5. The neoconservatives are mainly Democrats who were once liberals. In 1973 M. Harrington, the leader of the leftist social democrats, called D. Bell, N. Glazer and D. P. Moynihan "neoconservatives" for their criticism of the continuous expansion of the "state of universal prosperity." All of the rightist groups in the Democratic Party that oppose the policy of detente and demand a tough line toward the Soviet Union are also called "neoconservative."
19. COMMENTARY, 1977, No 12, p 37.
20. ENCOUNTER, September 1976, pp 18, 34.
21. COMMENTARY, 1977, No 12, p 41.
22. Ibid., p 46.
23. See, for example, COMMENTARY, 1976, No 11, pp 39-43, 48-54; 1977, No 5, pp 38-47.
24. Ibid., 1976, No 6, p 46.
27. NEW AMERICA, February 1976, vol XIII, p 9.
28. Ibid., August 1974, p 20.
29. See Revel, J. F., "Totalitarianism and Temptation," N.Y., 1977.
39. COMMENTARY, 1976, No 9, p 104.

40. The White House's scandalous policy toward the Middle East can serve to illustrate the unlimited power of rightist circles over the present administration. The cries of influential Zionist circles in the United States have forced President Carter, three times in recent years, to officially renounce steps taken by the administration to resolve the Middle East conflict and to publicly proclaim his loyalty to these circles.
42. COMMENTARY, 1977, No 8, p 23.
43. Ibid., p 25.
44. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 4 December 1978, p 35.
45. See Kennan, G. F., "The Cloud of Danger: Current Realities of American Foreign Policy," Boston-Toronto, 1977, p 42.
46. Ibid., pp 43-44.
47. AFL-CIO NEWS, 24 December 1977.
48. THE NEWSLETTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT, February 1976, vol IV, No 2.
49. AFL-CIO NEWS, 14 January 1978.
50. THE NEWSLETTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT, September 1977, vol V, No 7.
51. Ibid., February 1977, vol V, No 2.
52. Ibid., April 1977, vol IV, No 4.
53. THE DAILY YOMIURI, 2 September 1978.
54. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 12 November 1979, p 41.
55. PRAVDA, 19 February 1980.
56. COMMENTARY, 1979, No 4, p 41.
57. "The Survival of the 'Capitalist System' Challenge to the Pluralist Societies of the West," Report of a Study Group of the Institute for the Study of Conflict by Russell Lewis, January 1977, p 18.

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INTERNATIONAL

CHINESE LEADERS WORK OUT NEW VERSION OF MAOISM

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVRIMENNYI MIR in Russian No 3, May/Jun 80
signed to press 28 Apr 80 pp 77-85

[Article by V. P. Feoktistov: "China Today: 'Demaioization' or a New Version of Maoism"]

[Text] The consolidation of the positions of socialism, the growth of the national liberation movement and the increasing strength of forces fighting for peace and international detente are arousing spite and hatred in imperialist and all other types of reactionary forces, which are striving to subvert this historically progressive process that is in the interest of all mankind and return the world to the dismal cold war era.

In response to the questions of a PRAVDA correspondent, L. I. Brezhnev said on 13 January 1980 that the blame for this complication of international affairs at the turn of the decade had to be "assigned to imperialist forces," to those "who see detente as an obstacle to their aggressive intrigues, the firing of war hysteria and intervention in the domestic affairs of other nations," to those "with the deeply entrenched habit of treating other states unceremoniously."¹

These forces certainly include the present leaders of China, who have long been walking in step with militaristic and imperialistic circles in the United States and other capitalist countries. Beijing's aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, its military support of the counter-revolution in Afghanistan, conducted in open conspiracy with the American military establishment, and its encroachment upon the sovereignty of Kampuchea, Laos and other Southeast Asian countries--all of this testifies that the Beijing leaders have insolently assumed the "right" to unceremoniously interfere in the affairs of other countries and peoples, the "right" to "punish" them for not wishing to submit to Beijing's hegemonism. This is not merely a matter of "similarities" in the foreign policy aspects of the behavior of Beijing and Washington, but of an open military and political alliance, directed against the policy of peaceful coexistence and against the world revolutionary movement.

The events of recent years indicate that the Beijing leaders have begun to openly ally themselves with aggressive imperialist circles, playing the role of a "support base" for reactionary nationalism, anti-Sovietism and hegemonism in today's world. The "Chinese problem" has acquired, consequently, an even more global nature and now touches upon the interests of the peace and security of all people.

Statements can still be found to this day in the bourgeois press, however, about the "peaceful" nature of the policy of the present Chinese leadership, about its "radical revision" of Mao Zedong's expansionist, militaristic line, and about the current process of "democratization" in China. In other words, the assumption of power by the new Chinese leadership headed by Hua Guofeng in October 1976, a leadership which was "supplemented" in 1977 by the personage of Deng Xiaoping upon his return to active political life, gave birth to various "new" assessments in the bourgeois social sciences and in bourgeois propaganda in general of the nature of Beijing policy within the country and in the international arena.

There has been a fairly broad range of discussion: from attempts to analyze the differences between the post-Mao Chinese leadership's policy and the "thought" and "line" of Mao, to the frank desire to depict the policy line of this leadership--just as the "Thought of Mao Zedong" earlier--as real Marxism. Despite the extremely diverse and contradictory nature of the views of various bourgeois experts on China, these views invariably display certain common features--hostility toward the theory and practice of scientific socialism, methodological inconsistency and the attempt to explain all of the metamorphoses in the policy and ideology of the present Chinese leadership not by means of scientific objective analysis, but with a view to using China in the political interests of Western imperialist circles.

It is precisely here that we should seek the reasons for the extremely unexpected and sharp reversal of the position of some individuals who were avid fans of Maoist China not long ago. This is the kind of reversal that has been experienced, for example, by Maoist "theoretician" Charles Bettelheim. In a letter and the article "The Great Leap Backward," published in MONTHLY REVIEW in 1978, he unequivocally accused the new leaders of China of a complete departure from the "line" and "thought" of Mao Zedong, and of conducting a "revisionist line" (in regard to Maoism--V. F.) in today's China.² Opinions, similar in essence but more cautious in form, regarding the nature of the changes in the policy of the post-Mao leadership, have also been expressed by some sinologists of the bourgeois objectivist (or "liberal") school--Marie Claude Berge, J. Martin, R. Opitz, Lucien Pavis and several others.

The problem, as we can see, has acquired fairly definite outlines and can be described briefly in the following way: What is the nature of the changes in the policy and ideological aims of the Chinese leadership which took place (and are still taking place) after Mao's death? How do these

changes compare with the "thought" and line of Mao Zedong and with Maoism in general?

In order to answer this question we must first consider the exact essence of Maoism as a social phenomenon and the characteristics of its central ideological construction, which gives it definite ideological and political outlines and distinguishes Maoism from the other ideological currents of the present day.

The ideological sources of Maoism and its class, ideological and political essence have already been analyzed sufficiently in Marxist sinology, particularly in Soviet studies. These studies have told us, in essence, that Maoism is a petty bourgeois, social-chauvinistic ideological and political current with Chinese reactionary nationalism as its main ideological source. The birth of Maoism as a specific ideological current in the CCP took place at the beginning of the 1940's. Maoism was the heir and "successor" to the petty bourgeois nationalistic leanings that were present in the CCP from the 1920's on. Mao Zedong tried to construct his own "unique" "Sinized-Marxist" platform, on the basis of which he waged a theoretical and political struggle against scientific socialism.

Mao Zedong began his political career as a petty bourgeois revolutionary with nationalist aims; he not only failed to "overcome" these attitudes and biases as time went on, but he also consciously amplified them into a system of great-power chauvinistic views with its own logic, a system which can be described as a unique and "Sinized" type of social chauvinism. The main "idea" in this "system" was always the belief that China was the "center of the world," a leader predestined by its own history to dictate the fate of mankind. This was the basis for the social ideal Maoism tried to impose on the Chinese people: the militarized society of "barracks communism." This "ideal"--with some variations and nuances--has been characteristic of Maoism throughout its evolution. The transformation of China into a "unified military camp" or a militaristic superpower is the motive behind all of Mao's theoretical and political activity.

When Mao Zedong was a member of the CCP and one of its leaders, he naturally tried to camouflage his real ambitions and to clothe his chauvinistic ideas in the trappings of "Sinized Marxism." It is therefore no coincidence that the "Sinization" of Marxism and the creation of Mao's "own," so-called "Marxist reality" marked the beginning of the existence of pure Maoism. This camouflage, this disguise of nationalism to resemble Marxism, served as the screen, as Chinese history shows, behind which Mao was able to work and fight against Marxism-Leninism and its supporters in the CCP.

During the process of the Chinese revolution's development and evolution into a socialist revolution (after 1949), however, the incompatibility of Mao Zedong's nationalism with the ideals of scientific socialism and with Marxism-Leninism became increasingly apparent. It became particularly evident when Mao imposed the line of the "three red banners" on the party

(in 1958) and launched the so-called "Cultural Revolution" in the nation. It was precisely these events that fully revealed Maoism's hostility toward the fundamental interests of the Chinese workers and the ideals of scientific communism. What was once artificially wrapped in pseudo-Marxist trappings swam to the surface in all of its disgusting chauvinistic guise.

The subsequent period of Maoist domination brought the country to the verge of economic collapse by the mid-1970's and caused an even more severe sociopolitical crisis. In this way Maoism revealed its complete theoretical and political groundlessness and finally proved to be the main obstacle in the way of China's progressive socioeconomic development.

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Marxist sinology has discovered two significant features of Maoism as an ideological system: eclecticism and the contradictory nature of its theories, arising from the petty bourgeois nature of this current. Maoism absorbed (and then reworked) the most diverse, sometimes extremely contradictory theories and ideas--from "leftist" Trotskyist views to rightist, frankly bourgeois beliefs. The ideas of Confucianism and Legalism--that is, the basic components of the prevailing ideology in feudal China--can also be found in Maoism, adapted to new conditions. Amazing eclecticism is evident. But this is eclecticism of a particular type, which has a definite logic--this logic, this cementing material in Maoism, is great-Han chauvinism and hegemonism. As A. I. Sobolev has correctly pointed out, "the peculiarities of Maoist eclecticism consist in the fact that, despite all of its fragmentation and contradictions, it has a definite logic, which stems from the political great-Han ambitions of Maoism, subordinated to the strategic goals of Maoism within the country and in the international arena."³

This peculiarity of Maoism is the reason for another, equally significant feature--theoretical pragmatism, a narrowly pragmatic approach to the elaboration of various concepts. When Mao Zedong embarked on the construction of each of his ideas (specific ideas, and not his methodology as a whole, which did not change), he always worked toward a definite political goal. This was the case during the initial period of Maoism's development as a separate ideological current in the CCP in the beginning of the 1940's when he created his "Sinized Marxist reality," referring primarily to the goals of ideological and theoretical struggle against the Comintern and internationalist Marxists in the CCP; it was also the case in the 1950's, when he invented his "barracks communism" and tried to use this to "sanctify" his avant-garde, adventuristic, but essentially still chauvinistic plans for a "leap forward" in "communism."

The knowledge of these two peculiarities of Maoism--its eclecticism and its theoretical pragmatism--allows the researcher to keep track of the motivating factor throughout Maoism's evolution without getting lost in the labyrinths of its theoretical fluctuations and political "zigzags."

Considering the abovementioned peculiarities of Maoism, we must say that Maoism changed its ideological and theoretical appearance more than once in its evolution. As a specific ideological current in the CCP, it began functioning in the form of a rightist revisionist theory of "new democracy," which was not replaced by the leftist revisionist theory of "barracks communism" until the end of the 1950's, and was then replaced by the practice of the "Cultural Revolution." It was this last variation in Mao's lifetime that was later given the name of "orthodox Maoism." And it was the attitude toward this variation that many Western sinologists took as the criterion of the "purity" of Maoist ideals or, conversely, a yardstick for measuring the departure of the present Beijing leaders from these ideals. But the multifaceted nature of Maoism in combination with its unchanging ideological and political focus--its social chauvinistic purpose--rephrases the question: What is the attitude of the Beijing leaders (which we will discuss in detail below) not to one form of Maoism, but to its fundamental content, to its essence, which, despite the contradictory nature of some of the ideas and postulates set forth by Mao in different stages of his career, never changed, preserving the ideological and political properties of Maoism as a distinctly militaristic and social chauvinistic current?

The militaristic program to turn China into a strong military power, capable of carrying out the hegemonistic plans of the Maoists, always constituted the strategic essence of their ideology and policy and dictated the methods and means of their implementation. After the break with the international communist movement and the loss of faith in the Soviet Union's ability to defeat German fascism in the Great Patriotic War, Mao Zedong openly assigned priority in the early 1940's to alliance with a "stronger," in his opinion, power--the United States of America, with the aid of which he hoped to seize power in China and build a "strong China," the future "world ruler." It is no coincidence that Mao set forth the rightist theory of "new democracy" in these years, replacing Marxist doctrine on the worldwide historic mission of the working class and Lenin's theory of the evolution of bourgeois democratic revolution into socialist revolution with the concept of so-called "new democratic revolution," which, in his opinion, was supposed to bring about a dictatorship of "all patriotic classes," including the national bourgeoisie. This theory actually provided opportunities for the development of capitalism in China under the conditions of a uniquely petty bourgeois dictatorship, headed by the national bourgeoisie. The question of working class leadership in this revolution and its control over Mao's political authority was not even brought up at this time.

According to Mao, the "new democratic" state was primarily supposed to guarantee the construction of a "rich and powerful" China. As a defender of the economic and political interests of the national bourgeoisie, Mao Zedong insisted on the "creation of conditions for the free development of private capital"⁵ during those years and called the objective of "so-called prosperity" for the workers a "nearsighted and lopsided" goal. Considering

the fact that Mao was hoping to receive military assistance from the United States in those years and was prepared to promote this by severing all "ties to Moscow,"⁶ or, in other words, was assigning priority to a military and economic alliance with the United States, the non-proletarian, nationalistic nature of the theory of "new democracy" becomes even more apparent.

The efforts of Marxist, internationalist forces in the CCP contributed to the drafting of a scientific program for the construction of a new China along Marxist-Leninist lines in 1953-1956 (the program was ratified in the decisions of the Eighth CCP Congress in 1956). Under these conditions, Mao had to change his tactics and his theoretical views, hoping to seize the initiative from the Marxist wing in the CCP. This is how Mao's theory of "barracks communism" was born in 1957-1958. When the party embarked on the course of socialist construction, Mao tried to adapt to this course, but in such a way as to divest it of its truly Marxist, proletarian content. He did not completely reject the theory of "new democracy" (in his own revisionist interpretation), but tried to combine it...with socialism, and not scientific socialism, but his "own" petty bourgeois, egalitarian, "barracks socialism." His "new" views were embodied in the ultimately tragic line of the "Three Red Banners"--the "Great Leap Forward," the "People's Communes" and the new "General Line"--and then in the notorious "Cultural Revolution," which led to the political and ideological domination of China by Maoism in its ultra-leftist form.

A complete disregard for the economic factors of social development, excessive egalitarianism, open extra-economic coercion of the workers, the principle that "politics is the commanding force," a military bureaucratic dictatorial regime based on brutality toward the workers, and an atmosphere of ideological and political terror in the form of constant political and ideological campaigns to promote the artificial stimulation of "class struggle" under socialism--these were the basic components of this version of Maoism, which had taken shape by the early 1970's.

The results of this ultra-leftist policy were so hard on the Chinese economy, culture, science and political atmosphere that the new leadership, which took power in October 1976, had to make certain, sometimes extremely significant adjustments in socioeconomic policy within the nation. It also had to deal with the extensive public dissatisfaction aroused in China by Maoism in Mao's lifetime.

What was the nature of these adjustments? Did they replace Maoism in China or simply update it?

As we pointed out above, the possibility of a selective approach to certain Maoist "ideals" and aims, the possibility of its ideological reshuffling, was inherent in Maoism from the very beginning. Maoist pragmatism unavoidably gave rise to pragmatic attitudes toward Maoism itself on the part of China's new leaders. The question now, consequently, pertains to what they selected and are still selecting from Maoism.

An analysis of official Beijing documents and the actions of the Chinese leadership testifies that it has inherited Mao's social chauvinism, militarism and anti-Sovietism in their entirety and has developed them even further. These components of Mao's strategic "thought," which constitute a significant feature of Maoism, still represent the ideological foundation of all Chinese domestic and foreign policy. It is precisely for this reason that we can accurately and quite justifiably conclude that Maoism is still the theoretical and ideological basis of the policy of the CCP and the Chinese state.

The present stage in the evolution of Maoism can be described as the further intensification of the reactionary essence of Mao's theory and practice by China's leaders, the extension of his antisocialist beliefs to their logical conclusion--open alliance with world anticommunism in theory and in practice. This feature of contemporary Maoism is most graphically illustrated in its foreign policy concepts and actual behavior in the international arena. It is here that Beijing zealously advocates some kind of "united international front" of struggle against the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, inviting all nations to join the front, including the United States of America. Beijing's barbarous aggression against socialist Vietnam clearly illustrated the actual purpose of the present Beijing leaders' foreign policy. And even after this, some people in the West still had the nerve to call them "champions of peace" and supporters of "constructive politics"!

The policy of the Chinese leaders toward the international working class, which they are trying to draw into the orbit of their own anti-Sovietism and their struggle against real socialism, is also completely consistent with the "Thought of Mao." Beijing is persistently implying to the working class in the capitalist countries and the international communist movement that so-called "major hegemonism," meaning the policy of the Soviet Union, and "minor hegemonism," the policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Beijing's language, now represent the chief danger to the class interest of workers, and is alleging that the only threat of a new world war stems precisely from them. This is the purpose of all of the latest statements by Beijing leaders--both Deng Xiaoping and Hua Guofeng.

Therefore, Maoist extremism and chauvinism have not only been completely accepted in Beijing, but have even acquired new and more sinister features. The policy of the Chinese leadership has evolved from a reserve of world imperialism into its direct ally.

The characteristics of the domestic policy of the Beijing leaders are more complex. A fairly heated battle over Mao's ideological heritage has broken out among them and is still going on. The battle essentially revolves around the particular form Maoism, as a militaristic and social chauvinistic ideology, should take in the future--"leftist" or rightist?

As we have already pointed out, by the end of the 1950's Maoism had taken on the form of an ultra-"leftist" ideology, which manifested itself as an ideological force in the 1960's and early 1970's. Its theoretical basis was the concept of "barracks communism," which presupposed the absolutization of "class struggle" in accordance with Mao's "theory" of "continued revolution under proletarian dictatorship." It was this "theory" that constituted the focal point of "orthodox" Maoism. But the results of its implementation, particularly the notorious "Cultural Revolution," were so ruinous for China's economy, culture and science that Mao Zedong's successors had to give some consideration to the matter. It was evident that "orthodox" Maoism needed revision.

The entire matter boiled down to the adjustment of Maoism in such a way as to avoid discrediting it completely and, if possible, saving its face. The Beijing leadership, which had sworn allegiance to Maoism and the chauvinistic "Thought of Mao Zedong" from the very beginning, had to give some consideration to the fact that the "correction" of Maoism could not remove its militaristic and chauvinistic features, but had to intensify them and make Maoism a more effective means of attaining the same old Maoist hegemonistic goals. It was this kind of "revision" of Maoist postulates they strove for from the very beginning of their "reformation." Although they agreed on the main objective--the preservation and "development" of Maoism's social-chauvinistic and militaristic essence--different groups in the Chinese leadership nonetheless disagreed over the means, methods and ways of carrying out their common hegemonistic plans.

The struggle in the Chinese leadership over the particular version of Maoism that should be "elaborated" as the ideological and theoretical basis of party and state activity in the future went through two stages. The first began in September 1976, with the struggle against the "gang of four," and ended at the 11th CCP Congress in August 1977, when the first "updated" version of Maoism was worked out--the version of the ultra-leftist group of Hua Guofeng. The second stage began after the First Session of the Fifth NPC [National People's Congress] (February-March 1978) and is still going on. In this second stage, Deng Xiaoping joined the fight over Mao's legacy, striving to counter Hua Guofeng's "version" with his own interpretation of Maoism. It would seem that the major milestones of this stage were the decisions of the Third and Fourth plenums of the 11th CCP Central Committee (in December 1978 and September 1979 respectively).

What are the distinctive features of these two versions of Maoism? What are their similarities and differences?

During the first stage of the correction of Maoism, the Beijing leadership, headed by Hua Guofeng, was primarily concerned with saving Maoism's face by finding and exposing to universal condemnation some culprits for the crisis that had stricken China, culprits who would not implicate the chief culprit, Mao Zedong. These "scapegoats" were found among the people closest to Mao: Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan. They were

branded the chief criminals and perpetrators of the voluntaristic and anti-people line of the 1960's and 1970's. The struggle against this "gang" was called a "great class struggle" in defense of the purity of the "Thought of Mao Zedong." During the course of this struggle, the new Hua Guofeng leadership also solved the problem of authority, as the defamation and condemnation of the "gang of four" removed serious opponents from the struggle for top-level authority in the nation. This also provided a target for public dissatisfaction with Maoist policy in recent decades. In short, many goals were pursued, but the main goal was still the definite modification of the "Thought of Mao" and his policy line, particularly in domestic policy, and the preservation of Maoism's social status and prestige.

First of all, an attempt was made to at least partially eradicate the voluntarism of the "Thought of Mao," his absolutization of the class struggle as the main and only factor in the development of all aspects of social life. Even during the campaign for criticism of the "gang of four," directives were issued which testified to the revision of precisely these aspects of Mao's ideological and political doctrine. For example, Hua Guofeng's directive that "intensive development of the socialist economy is one of the chief responsibilities of the proletarian dictatorship" (in December 1976) essentially disavowed Mao's well-known postulate which reduced the purpose of proletarian dictatorship exclusively to punitive and external functions; and Hua's announcement that "the life of the party lies in its unity" signified a substantial departure from Mao's thesis regarding the inevitability and even the desirability of intensive "class struggle" within the party as a "law" of its functioning. Since the end of 1976 a campaign has been going on in the Chinese press to propagandize Mao's speech "On the Ten Most Important Relationships" (1956), dealing mainly with economic issues. At this time Maoism began to be described as an "economic doctrine," and Mao Zedong himself was called the "greatest theoretician" of political economy.

The Chinese leadership's interest in economics in those years was natural. The nation was on the verge of economic catastrophe. Immediate steps had to be taken to correct the situation. At the same time, however, Mao's strategic ideal--the militarization of China in the interest of hegemonistic plans--could not, in the opinion of the nation's new leaders, be forgotten. This is why they turned to Mao's "economic" works of an earlier period (the 1950's), and, moreover, to those in which he insisted on the need for not only the economic development of the country, but also its militarization. Mao's economic works were associated with his chauvinistic line. The combination of all this began to be called Mao Zedong's "theory of socialist construction" in the Chinese press.

Mao's concept of "continued revolution under proletarian dictatorship" was also included in this "theory" in those years. This idea, as we know, served as the "theoretical" foundation for the "Cultural Revolution" and all of the later permanent political purges and repression. In order to

coordinate this with Mao's economic postulates and the desire to develop a military-industrial complex, Maoism was described as a "dialectical combination of revolutionary and production objectives" (the term "revolution" signified broader "class struggle" and the term "production" signified the augmentation of China's military strength--V. F.). It is no coincidence that the official Beijing press counseled its readers at that time to "always remember Chairman Mao's directive that the goal of revolution is to provide scope for the development of productive forces."⁷

The "priority" publication of the fifth volume of "Selected Works by Mao Zedong" in April 1977 was an important milestone along the path to the establishment of the new version of Maoism. This publication included articles and speeches by Mao that had never before been printed in the Chinese press, and many of them had a militaristic-chauvinistic and anti-Soviet content. The "Thought" of Mao, as expressed in this volume, was described as "theoretical summarization of the experience of socialist revolution and socialist construction." Mao's "theory of continued revolution under proletarian dictatorship" was called the basic element of this summarization.⁸ It is true that it was supplemented considerably: "Class struggle" under socialism began to be interpreted not only as a means of attaining political objectives, but also as a factor "promoting the rapid development of productive forces"⁹ (that is, in Maoist language, the militarization of the country--V. F.).

The new version of Maoist ideological doctrine was set forth in its final form in the documents of the 11th CCP Congress, which took place under the slogan of continuation of "Mao Zedong's revolutionary line." The basic ideological and theoretical components of Maoism were reduced to three of Mao's "theories": the "theory of new democratic revolution," the "great theory of continued revolution under proletarian dictatorship" and the "theory of the division of the world into three worlds"--as the ideological and theoretical basis of the antisocialist and pro-imperialist course in the international arena. Moreover, "class struggle" began to be interpreted as a component of economic policy in this version of Maoism.

Therefore, during this stage of the revision of Maoism, the Beijing leadership was striving to remove its obvious ultra-leftist extremes, adapt Maoism to the need for the rapid buildup of national military and economic strength, and make Maoism more effective from the economic standpoint without changing the basic features of Maoism, such as the concept of "barracks communism."

III

The second stage, which is still going on, of the struggle in the Chinese leadership over Mao's ideological heritage began in May 1978 and was connected with the return of Deng Xiaoping, who had been repressed in April 1976, to active political life. It was distinguished by a tendency toward the further revision of some components of Maoism in the rightist pragmatic

spirit, this time by means of not only the "elimination" of the "leftist" revolutionary extremes of this doctrine, but also the replacement of its "leftist" version with a rightist and opportunistic one.

After the 11th CCP Congress (August 1977) the Chinese leadership embarked on the accomplishment of "four" militaristic modernizations. At this time it was discovered that the particular version of Maoism which had been recorded in the congress decisions provided no opportunity for the rapid and effective implementation of these plans. We will disregard the purely economic aspects of the matter--there is no question that they played a considerable part in the implementation of this line. We are interested in another aspect--the ideological and political aspect, or, more precisely, the coordination of the line of "four modernizations" with the ideological platform of the Chinese leadership.

The economic and political parity established at the 11th CCP Congress was, in the opinion of the Chinese leaders, a serious obstacle in the further militarization of the economy. It was decided to make substantial adjustments in the ideological and theoretical bases of this parity. This "task" was taken on by Deng Xiaoping. The purpose of his theoretical activity in the years after his rehabilitation consisted completely in the attempt to invent his "own theory of socialist construction," but one which would allow for the combination of the "Thought of Mao" with the practice of the "four modernizations." In other words, Deng Xiaoping, as the main initiator of yet another "contemporary" version of Maoism, tried to acquire "free rein" in the implementation of an obviously pro-bourgeois, rightist line within the nation and in the international arena. Leading China further and further along the path of alliance with world imperialism and with the capitalist West, Deng Xiaoping tried to construct his own variation of social chauvinism from the same old "Thought of Mao."

And with the aid of the "Thought" of Mao, he was able to perform this kind of "plastic surgery." From among Mao's ideas, he chose primarily the statements which allowed for a pragmatic approach to theory in general, using Mao's so-called "realistic approach," on the basis of which he had once accomplished the revision of Marxism in the CCP. This was the precise purpose of the campaign launched at Deng's suggestion in May 1978 under the slogan that "experience is the only criterion of truth." By giving a relativistic interpretation to this Marxist premise, the Chinese press tried to convey the impression that all theories, including those of Mao Zedong, require constant "adjustment" and "testing through experience"--in this case, the experience of the "four modernizations." "New conditions" allegedly always dictate the need for "new theories"--this is how the need for a "creative" approach to Maoism and its further "development," with consideration for new conditions in China, was demagogically substantiated during the course of this campaign.

All of this was used to conceal the real goal of revising the "Thought of Mao," which did not fit in with the line of "four modernizations," while leaving the spirit and strategic aims of Maoism unchanged. Convinced that

the "leftist" version of Maoism was not effective enough to implement the militaristic line aimed at open military and political alliance with world imperialism, the pragmatic right wing of the Chinese leadership decided to "modernize" Maoism by restoring its rightist, original essence. This goal was set forth with particular clarity in the decisions of the Third Plenum of the CCP Central Committee in December 1978, at which time it was announced that "the center of gravity of all party work will be shifted to the four modernizations," while the thesis of the need for "class struggle" in the nation was actually renounced. As later events showed, this was not a tactical move or just the latest zigzag in the leadership's slogan policy. All of this had profound sociopolitical implications.

The policy of developing economic and political ties with the West on an anti-Soviet, antisocialist basis forced the Chinese leadership to adapt its ideological and political doctrine to this end as well. This is the precise reason that "leftist" Maoist slogans were quite quickly replaced by rightist and openly bourgeois slogans in China. What were these slogans? Mao's theory of "new democracy" with its bourgeois nationalistic content was once again used as ammunition. His "theory" of intensive class struggle under socialism was replaced everywhere by propaganda about "Mao's great doctrine of the united front," which was called the political basis of government in China. Whereas the conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the working class in China were declared the main conflicts during the years when the "leftist," orthodox version of Maoism prevailed, now the press began to strongly suggest that there were no social or class conflicts in the nation and to allege that the bourgeoisie had been reeducated long ago as "new workers."

To substantiate this thesis, official Beijing propaganda turned once again to the works of Mao Zedong, particularly his speech "On the Correct Resolution of Contradictions Within the Population" (February 1957). Mao's statements from this speech about the allegedly non-antagonistic nature of the conflicts between the working class and the bourgeoisie in China are constantly quoted. This revisionist postulate is now being actively circulated as part of official ideology for the purpose of justifying the economic and political line of encouraging the "local" and emigrant "national" bourgeoisie to participate in the militarization of China. It is no coincidence that the "leftist" Maoist slogan about intensive class struggle under socialism and the constant "division" of the socialist society into the working class and the "new bourgeoisie" has now been replaced in China by the thesis of the "social homogeneity" of Chinese society and the disappearance of antagonistic classes in this society. In accordance with these "basic premises," the main contradiction in this society is no longer the conflict between the working class and the bourgeoisie, but the conflict between supporters and opponents of the line of "four modernizations."¹⁰

But all of this does not mean that Mao's line of continued "class struggle" under socialism has been completely discarded. In our opinion, it has merely been modified, and it is the object of "class struggle" that has

changed. Now this object is not the "bourgeoisie," but the opponents of the "four modernizations." And, characteristically, this "departure" from the "Thought of Mao" on the "main contradiction" under socialism has been accomplished by the Chinese leaders...with the aid of the "great helmsman" himself. Mao's thesis of the "mutual transition" of two types of different contradictions in the socialist society--non-antagonistic "contradictions within the population" and antagonistic "contradictions between us and our enemies"--has come to their aid. According to Mao's teachings about contradictions, they can "change places" under "certain circumstances" or change from antagonistic to non-antagonistic and vice-versa.¹¹ Seizing upon this 1950's "discovery" by Mao Zedong, the present Chinese leaders are implying that the contradictions arising during the accomplishment of the "four modernizations" can also bear the characteristics of "class struggle," or can also be antagonistic.¹² This simple ruse graphically illustrates the mechanism by which the "Thought of Mao" is being transformed in today's China: A further shift to the right in the political line of its leaders will necessitate another selection of rightist revisionist theses from the "Thought" of the late "helmsman."

The modification of Mao's concept of "class struggle" is also closely connected with the Chinese leaders' revival of Mao's ideas about the "united front" in the ideological sphere, and his line of "mutual control" by the CCP and bourgeois parties in the political sphere. Since January 1979 various "democratic" parties have been much more active in China. These parties are united in a so-called "united revolutionary-patriotic front." The purpose of this front, which essentially includes primarily the representatives of the "old democratic" parties (including the Association of Industrialists and Merchants) and nationalist organizations of overseas Chinese, was revealed in a speech presented by Deng Xiaoping in October 1979. He declared that, in this "new historical stage," the Chinese leadership was "interested" in the "rich practical experience and knowledge" of the members of "democratic parties" and in their "ability to manage the economy," which was essential for the implementation of the program of "four modernizations." For this reason, "long-range coexistence and mutual control" as a form of interrelations between the CCP and "other parties" will now be, in Deng's words, "the invariable course for a long time."¹³ It is interesting that the Beijing leaders who are now reviving Mao's "theory of the united front" are saying nothing about the class nature of this organization, especially about the leadership of the front by the working class. In this way, the "united patriotic front" has been revived in China--this nationalistic organization of bourgeois or petty bourgeois parties, which is supposed to aid in carrying out the militaristic and chauvinistic program of the "four modernizations" by "allying" the "patriotic" Chinese bourgeoisie with the intelligentsia.

Absolutely clear-cut political tasks have also been assigned to the "front": It must "make an even greater contribution to the expansion of the international united front of struggle against hegemonism."¹⁴ In other words, it is supposed to become yet another active force in the anti-Soviet, antisocialist policy of the Chinese leadership.

This shift to the right, to the assignment of the "national" bourgeoisie and its parties a place in political life equivalent to that of the workers, including the role of "controller" of CCP activity, is being accompanied by the appropriate corrections in socioeconomic policy. In the beginning of 1979 the CCP Central Committee passed a resolution on policy toward the "national bourgeoisie." This resolution and its contents were announced by Chief Wulanfu of the CCP Central Committee Section on the United Front at a "talk" on aspects of CCP policy toward the national bourgeoisie, which took place in Beijing on 25 January 1979. Declaring that the contradictions between the "proletariat" and "national bourgeoisie" belonged to the category of "contradictions within the population"--that is, non-antagonistic contradictions--Wulanfu announced that the Chinese leadership would take new measures to restore the privileges lost by the Chinese "national bourgeoisie" as a result of the "intrigues of the gang of four" during the "Cultural Revolution." The chief privileges are the following: All bank accounts, stocks and other securities confiscated during the "Cultural Revolution" will be returned to the former owners of industrial enterprises and trade establishments and they will be paid interest on these securities; the former high salaries of "employees from among the former capitalists" will be restored, along with compensation for past years; the confiscated homes of members of the "national bourgeoisie" will be returned to their owners; the "uncollected" amounts of "fixed interest" on previously owned capital will be paid in full to the former owners of capitalist enterprises.¹⁵ Explaining the reason for the measures by the Chinese leadership, the Beijing press wrote: "The steps now being taken to restore the bank accounts (of former capitalists) and high salaries will increase their activity and have a positive effect on the national bourgeoisie abroad, as well as in Hong Kong and Macao."¹⁶ The political purpose of this "influence" was discussed above. Within the nation, official propaganda is now discussing the need to "consider the economic interests" of the national bourgeoisie, which is being depicted as a "friendly class" during all stages of the Chinese revolution, a class which performed "services in the socialist revolution and in socialist construction" in China. And now this class is being encouraged to make "its contribution" to the cause of the "four modernizations."

The pro-bourgeois nature of the Beijing leadership's economic policy is also apparent in its desire to attract the capital of the monopolistic bourgeoisie in the largest capitalist countries to China--for the quicker buildup of the military-industrial complex. Foreign monopolies have been permitted by law to establish "joint stock companies" in China--that is, capitalist enterprises owned jointly by foreign capital and the Chinese State. Moreover, the "share" of foreign capital is not limited by law.

Therefore, pro-bourgeois theses have essentially prevailed in the ideological and political aims of the present Chinese leadership since the second half of 1978. Under the pen and the hand of the present Chinese leadership, Maoism has exposed its other side, the rightist and nationalist side. But this is not an absolutely "new" or unknown facet of Maoism;

this is its original, rightist-opportunistic version, which has now been revived in China and has been given official status in the ideological and political spheres.

This "latest" version of Maoism is now being given a historical basis in the form of the concept of "liberation of the consciousness." It was set forth in its fullest form by Zhou Yang in his report entitled "The Three Great Movements for the Liberation of Consciousness" in May 1979. As a supplement to the previous campaign entitled "experience is the only criterion of truth," which was aimed at substantiating the need for the adaption of Maoism "to new conditions," this concept is supposed to fabricate certain natural historical laws governing the development of the ideological and theoretical process in contemporary China. The "liberation of consciousness" from the shackles of the "old ideology" has been declared this kind of "natural law." According to this "theory," there have been three periods of "consciousness liberation" in Chinese history: the movement of 4 May 1919, which liberated China from the shackles of feudal ideology and acquainted it with Marxism; the "movement for the correction of style" of 1942-1945, as a result of which "Marxism liberated from dogmatism," in the form of the "Thought of Mao Zedong," began to "have a real effect" on Chinese development; the present stage is the stage of the "great movement for the liberation of consciousness," the purpose of which is to "combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Zedong with the specific practice of the four modernizations"¹⁷

As we can see, this theory, in the first place, essentially denies the deciding role of Marxism-Leninism in the development of the revolutionary process in China; in the second place, it calls the "Thought of Mao," as "liberated Marxism," the basis of the ideological system which has a "real effect" on the revolutionary movement in China; in the third place, it paves the way for the further "liberation of consciousness" in China for the "creative" progression of social thought through the combination of Maoism with the experience of the "four modernizations" and the "contribution of something new to the progressive ideology of mankind."¹⁸ The idea is expressed quite clearly: The "Thought" of Mao was a natural stage in the development of "creative Marxism" in China--a natural stage, but not the last one, and therefore this "Thought" requires further "development." It is precisely this that constitutes the entire purpose of the reinterpretation and correction of Maoism that is now going on in China. The "Thought of Mao Zedong," with which the present leaders have armed themselves, is being adjusted in accordance with the line of "four modernizations," which presupposes reliance on Western monopolistic capital.

The new version of Maoism is being elaborated within the Chinese leadership as a result of the clash of various tendencies and views. The advocates of the radical revision of the "Thought of Mao" in the rightist nationalist direction are encountering opposition from the "top-level Maoists" who take a more orthodox view of Mao's "Thought" and "line"--that is, they want to continue using the ultra-leftist version of Maoism. This is the reason for the inconsistent and compromisory nature of the versions

of Maoism that the Chinese leadership has "worked out" in recent years. They are consistent in one respect--in the preservation and "modernization" of the strategic great-Han hegemonistic ideas of Mao and his militaristic and chauvinistic course.

Objectively, the line of revising Maoism undermines the authority of the "Thought of Mao Zedong." This is apparently the reason for the attempt made at the Fourth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee in September 1979 to find an escape from the ticklish situation into which the authors of the "latest version" of Maoism had fallen. At the plenum, the "Thought of Mao" was described as the "quintessence of more than half a century of experience in revolutionary struggle and the construction of a new society in China, the quintessence of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party." This is how Maoism is protecting itself against those who are excessively zealous in their demands for its "modernization" and who are thereby threatening its very existence.

Therefore, the present reinterpretation of Maoism in China is not being undertaken for the purpose of complete liberation from the shackles of this militaristic and chauvinistic ideology, but for the opposite reason--to reinforce this ideology in the new version as the ideological and political basis of the activity of the Chinese leadership. Maoism is being "liberated" from the particular elements of certain postulates which have revealed their total theoretical and practical bankruptcy. At the same time, all of the elements of Maoism that can serve the policy of military and political alliance with imperialism, with the forces for reaction and war, are now being selected and adopted. Contemporary Maoism as a whole is moving to the right, developing the rightist nationalist tendency that was originally present within it. This is the predictable development of reactionary petty bourgeois nationalism, which is turning it into an open ally of the world bourgeoisie in its struggle against scientific socialism.

The talk about the "demaiozation" that is supposedly taking place in China today has no real basis. It testifies only to the inevitable disappearance of the main feature of Maoism--its militaristic and chauvinistic essence, which colors all of its other, secondary elements.

FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA, 13 January 1980.
2. Bettelheim, C., "The Great Leap Backward," MONTHLY REVIEW, New York, 1978, vol 30, pp 14, 83.
3. Sobolev, A. I., "The Revision of Leninism in the Ideology and Policy of the Maoists," in the book: "Maoizm bez Mao" (Maoism Without Mao), Moscow, 1979, p 61.

4. This refers to the original version of Mao's work "On the New Democracy," published in 1940. It was only later, in the beginning of the 1950's, that it included statements about the leading role of the working class in this dictatorship. For more detail, see "Ideyno-politicheskaya sushchnost' Maoizma" [The Ideological and Political Essence of Maoism], Moscow, 1977, pp 28-29.
5. Mao Zedong, "Selected Works," Harbin, year of publication not specified, p 314 (in Chinese). For more about this theory, see Smirnov, D. A., "The Maoist Concept of 'New Democracy'--Rightist Revisionist Version of 'National Socialism,'" PROBLEMY DAL'NEGO VOSTOKA, 1979, No 4, pp 92-105.
6. See Vladimirov, P. P., "Osobyi rayon Kitaya" [The Special Region of China], Moscow, 1973, p 505.
7. HONGQI, 1977, No 1, p 94.
8. RENMIN RIBAO, 1 May 1977.
9. Ibid.
10. See Hua Guofeng, "Report on the Work of the Government at the Second Session of the Fifth NPC," HONGQI, 1979, No 7.
11. For more detail, see "Ideyno-politicheskaya sushchnost' maoizma," pp 136-143.
12. HONGQI, 1979, No 9, p 14.
13. RENMIN RIBAO, 20 October 1979.
14. "Political Resolution of the Second Session of the All-China Committee of the Fifth People's Political Advisory Council of China," GUANGMING RIBAO, 4 July 1979.
15. RENMIN RIBAO, 26 January 1979.
16. ZHONGGUO QINGNIANBAO, 8 September 1979.
17. RENMIN RIBAO, 7 May 1979.
18. Ibid.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON LATIN AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 6, Jun 80 pp 139-140

Review by A.N. Glinkin of the book "Novyye tendentsii v diplomatii Latinoamerikanskikh stran" by A.I. Kedrov, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya, Moscow, 1979, 152 pages

Text A.I. Kedrov's book, which is small in size but rich in content, is characterized by a novel approach; the study focuses on the diplomatic activities of the countries in this region, the formation of the basic trends in these activities, as well as their forms and methods, and the organization of the diplomatic service. This approach also determines the significant attention which is given to a question which has been poorly studied in Soviet and foreign historiography, i.e., to the foreign policy concepts and doctrines which have been advanced by the statesmen and prominent diplomats in this part of the world.

The book's examination of the present-day role played by the countries of Latin America in the international arena is prefaced by an excursus into the history of these nations' foreign policy in the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries; this has enabled the author to trace the genesis of a number of features characteristic of the diplomacy practiced by the states of the region, features which were related primarily to the attempt to create certain international-legal impediments to the expansion of the USA and other imperialist powers. However, the USA used its economic and military superiority and found support in the local oligarchy; it was able to impose on the Latin American countries the doctrine of Pan-Americanism and to create on the basis of this doctrine the Organization of American States, which served the U.S. as a convenient instrument to control the foreign policy activities of its southern neighbors (p 17). But, the book notes, the victory of "bloc diplomacy" was temporary because the imperialists and the local bourgeois-large landowning circles were not successful in halting the development of the revolutionary struggle by the popular masses in Latin America nor in preventing the exacerbation of the objective contradictions between the policy of foreign imperialism and the state interests of any given country in this region.

The influence of these factors predetermined the first attempts by individual Latin American countries to depart from "bloc diplomacy"; the author dates these first attempts to the early fifties.

The book links the further development of the tendency by a growing number of states in this region to take a foreign policy line which is independent of imperialism, and the assertion of an anti-imperialism trend in the diplomacy of many Latin American countries to the following factors: the influence of the fundamental change--in favor of socialism--in the alignment of class forces in the world arena, the victory of the Cuban revolution, the collapse of the colonial empires and the formation of the young, independent states in the Caribbean, the growth of the liberation struggle of the Latin American peoples and the coming to power of patriotic forces in a number of countries.

The author's attempt not to be limited to an evaluation of the tendencies common to all the countries of the region is a fruitful one; he attempts, instead, to trace the significant differences in the international activities of individual countries and their groups, which are determined by the nature of the authority in every state, and by the alignment of class and political forces, as well as by the direction of governments' domestic policy and by historical traditions. In this regard it should be noted that while the analysis of the determining global and regional factors on the policy of the states in this region is comprehensive in nature, insufficient attention is devoted to an examination of the influence of a number of internal processes, and specifically to the change in the alignment of forces in the rightist bloc, and to the movement to the forefront by factions of the bourgeoisie and the middle strata interested in an independent foreign policy. This and several other gaps could be avoided on the basis of what has already been achieved by Soviet Latin American scholars. However, it is unfortunate that the author displays here a tendency to disengage himself somewhat from the collective and individual monographic studies which have been published in recent years.

The merit of the book under review lies in its well-reasoned criticism of the inconsistency to be found in the diplomacy of the Latin American nations, an inconsistency which is the result of class factors; the deviations of this diplomacy from the principled positions of anti-imperialism; the zigzags and inclination to compromise with the Western powers, frequently to the detriment of their own national interests. Pinochet's fascistic junta and certain other military-dictatorial regimes act as accomplices of U.S. imperialism in its attempt to resurrect "bloc diplomacy." In analyzing this and other important problems related to the performance of the Latin American countries in the inter-American and world arena, the author conducts a polemic with the North American bourgeois investigators; he exposes their attempts to distort the nature of the positive shifts in international relations and to embellish the role of the USA.

Taking into account the small size of the book, one can hardly complain that the book is not all-encompassing. But it is quite legitimate to consider critically how well the author has succeeded in achieving the goals of the study which he set for himself. In the introduction he emphasizes that particular attention will be devoted to the so-called diplomacy of economic development, inasmuch as the countries of the region attribute particular significance to it (p 5). In the book, however, this problem is viewed mainly in the context of trade conflicts with the USA and the development of the processes of economic integration in the region. As a result, the necessary treatment has not been given to such a current and important area of the "diplomacy of economic development" as the struggle of the Latin American countries to create a new international, economic order, or the activities of the "group of 77," the elaboration of a "Code of Behavior" for the TNK [trans-national corporations?], the opposition to "technological colonialism," the diplomacy of raw-material anticartels, etc. Nor has attention been given to the subject of the "Tlatelolco Treaty" or the issue of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in Latin America, both topics which are timely under the present circumstances. At the same time, however, excessive detail is provided about certain well-known events which have been treated in a number of special research by Soviet Latin American scholars.

On the whole, this book is extremely useful because it enables us to realize more thoroughly the scale of the dynamic changes which are taking place today in the international arena, and it treats a number of aspects of the foreign policy activities of the Latin American countries which have not yet been adequately studied by Soviet scholarship.

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NATIONAL

NEW DRAFT HOUSING LEGISLATION DISCUSSED

Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 27 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by candidate of juridical Sciences A. Khvastov: "Guaranteed by the Constitution. Discussion of Draft of Principles of Housing Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics"]

[Text] The Soviet people are justly proud of the outstanding advances they have made in housing construction. Housing space built during the years of Soviet rule totals 3.4 billion square meters. In the past decade alone, 108 million persons have been given improved housing. This is more than 40 percent of the population! Housing has been made more comfortable and pleasant.

Article 44 of the USSR Constitution states: "Citizens of the USSR have the right to housing." Actual implementation of this constitutional right, and effective utilization and protection of the housing inventory, must be facilitated by Soviet housing legislation, which is constantly revised and improved. A clear manifestation of the party's and government's efforts to improve living conditions for the workers is the drafting of a new law, "Principles of Housing Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics," which has been published in the press for public discussion.

The draft legislation stipulates measures designed to ensure maintenance of the housing inventory, improve the quality of amenities and utilities, provide more equitable allocation of housing space, and strengthen the protection of the housing rights of Soviet citizens.

Rights to priority allocation are established (in addition to citizens already granted it by present legislation) for persons who served in the active armed services during the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War or during other combat operations in defense of the USSR, partisans during the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, and other persons who took part in combat operations in defense of the USSR, also veterans of labor, families with many children, and others.

In the case of citizens whose homes have been damaged by natural disasters and other instances stipulated by legislation, housing quarters will be assigned without a waiting period [vne ocheredi]. Another innovation is that in the allotment of living quarters, persons of different sex above the age of nine will not have to occupy the same room.

Living quarters which become available [vysvobozhdayutsya] in buildings turned over by state enterprises, installations, and organizations to the ispolkoms of local Soviets of People's Deputies, also those in buildings constructed on the basis of joint participation of funds of enterprises, installations, and organizations, are to be occupied primarily by the workers of such organizations.

The draft also contains a number of other innovations.

Nevertheless, a few comments and suggestions need to be made with regard to the draft law.

First, with regard to the priority allotment of housing space (Article 22). The law ought to state who is to be considered a veteran of labor (for example, persons who have worked more than 25 years in one enterprise, or those awarded the medal "Veteran of Labor").

The same article states that the right to priority allotment of housing is granted to single mothers as well as families in which twins [bliznetsy] are born. The practical question arises as to whether the provision extends to families in which twins were born prior to passage of the law or to single mothers who attain that status prior to passage of the law. The Principles do not provide an answer.

The Principles should have stipulated who is to be considered a member of the family of a tenant (Article 28), especially since there are discrepancies in this regard in the present legislation.

At present, some tenants have surplus space. The draft law states that a tenant who has surplus space has the right, with the consent of family members, to request housing space of smaller size. But if he does not request it, are the family members going to protest? In our opinion, in such cases it is advisable either to take away the surplus space or to raise the rent tenfold (rather than threefold as at present).

Article 33 of the draft is stated inaccurately. It states that if persons living in the same dwelling cannot agree on an exchange, than any one of them has the right to request court action to compel exchange of the dwelling for housing in different buildings (apartments). In such a case, the housing conditions of persons who protest such an exchange are not to be adversely affected. But what does "adversely affected" mean? The conditions may involve the particular rayon of the city, the particular floor, whether it is a separate building, the dimensions, whether sunny or not,

and so on. If all this is taken into account, it becomes very difficult to exercise the right to compulsory exchange.

Article 38, which deals with eviction without the assignment of alternative housing, also ought to stipulate persons who willfully refuse to pay their rent without valid reason for a period of, say, six months. Experience teaches us that such tenants will go for years without paying rent, and the housing administration, rather than requesting eviction, is compelled to appeal to the notary's office to get an executive order to recover the debt.

It is also necessary to revise Article 40 of the draft law concerning eviction from boarding houses. In Paragraph 1, the words "in connection with the conclusion of the term for which it has been established" should be placed after the words "in accordance with a term labor agreement."

Some remarks about the manner of preparation of the draft law.

First, it contains too many references to "other legislation." A number of questions in these cases ought to be resolved in the Principles.

A unified terminology should be adopted. Article 22, for example, speaks "of persons" on active duty in the armed forces, while Article 39 speaks "of participants" in the Great Patriotic War who served on active duty in the armed forces.

In conclusion it must be said that passage of the new housing legislation will help to fully meet the housing needs of our citizens and strengthen socialist legality in housing relationships.

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REGIONAL

GRISHKYAVICHUS ON STATE OF LITHUANIAN ECONOMY, BREZHNEV CONVERSATION

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 5 Jul 80 pp 1-2

/Excerpts from report by P. Grishkyavichus: "New Labor Victories by the Time of the Party Congress"/

/Excerpts/ Comrades!

We have all seen how according to principle and skillfully the CPSU Central Committee is carrying out a Leninist foreign policy. It is directed at further strengthening the political, economic, and defensive might of the USSR, at reinforcing the unity and power of the socialist community, at lessening international tension, and at curbing the arms race.

Like the entire Soviet people, the workers of our republic unanimously support and approve the foreign-policy course of our Party and the Soviet government.

The path traveled by the Soviet people after the 25th party congress is a path of great and fruitful work. It is marked by the further growth of our Motherland's economic and defensive might. As Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized in his report to the Plenum, "during the past few years we have accumulated valuable experience in building communism. We must carefully proceed towards everything which is positive in our work--whether it be in the city or in the village.

At the same time we must critically examine the omissions and shortcomings which, unfortunately, still remain in the practice of economic management and even in Party work."

Today, in discussing the results of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, proceeding from these points of view, we will also examine the work which has been accomplished and the top-priority tasks of this republic's Party organization.

It must be said that, as throughout the entire country, so too in our republic, quite a bit is being done to put into operation all the reserves and potentials for increasing the efficiency, production, and quality of the

work. The labor upsurge and the enthusiasm brought about by the competition for a worthy celebration of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, as well as the 40th anniversary of the restoration of the Soviet regime in Lithuania, has had a favorable effect on production results. On 27 June industry reported the fulfillment ahead of schedule of the plan for the first six months with regard to gross production and the output of the most important types of goods. Output valued at 100 million rubles above the plan was realized. High growth rates were attained in production and labor productivity, as a result of which a four-fifths increment in production volume was achieved. It is particularly gratifying that all enterprises managed to fulfill the plans with regard to selling their output.

On the threshold of this republic's jubilee a remarkable labor victory has been gained by tens of thousands of progressive production workers, hundreds of brigades, shifts, sections, and workshops which have succeeded in fulfilling the tasks of the five-year plan. More than 120 enterprises have already reached the level envisioned by the five-year plan with respect to the growth rate for production and labor productivity. The right-flank rows of the five-year plan are being filled out every day with new names and groups. It may be already stated today that this republic's industry has made a significant step forward on the path of its further development and the growth of its productive potential. During the five-year plan industry will produce an output worth 500 million rubles more than the yearly plans. This is a remarkable contribution by the republic's industry to the implementation of the economic program defined by the 25th CPSU Congress and the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

A significant step forward has also been made in the field of capital construction. During the four years of the current five-year plan 6.5 billion rubles have been invested in the national economy. Almost four billion rubles worth of construction and installation operations have been carried out. More than six billion rubles worth of fixed capital were introduced during these years. These amounts are in accordance with the tasks envisioned by the five-year plan.

While positively evaluating everything which has been achieved, we must critically examine the demands made at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee with regard to the omissions and shortcomings in our work.

Let's take the problem of capital construction--one of the most important sectors of our national economy. As is known, the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally have recently once again thoroughly and carefully analyzed the status of the most important start-up construction projects, including our republic's construction projects.

In a personal conversation with me, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted the positive work which has been done in Lithuania during the past four years in the field of capital construction and with regard to assuring the putting into operation of projects which are important to the national economy.

At the same time in his conversation Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out the non-fulfillment last year in our republic of the plan for introducing fixed capital, as well as the lags in the construction of such important projects as the Mazheykiy Oil Refinery, the Ionavakiy Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant, and the Kedaynakiy Chemical Plant. In particular, it was noted that last year the plan for putting fixed capital into operation was fulfilled by only 90 percent, while during the first five months of the current year the degree of underfulfillment has been even greater.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed concern that in this important sector of the national economy there still continue to take place serious shortcomings and omissions which are lowering the effectiveness of decisions which are being adopted and hindering us from moving forward at a more rapid pace. This testifies to the great amount of attention which the CPSU Central Committee devotes to capital construction and to the fact that Leonid Il'ich himself directly concerns himself with all problems regarding the further development of the country's national economy.

The tasks which proceed from Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's directives were discussed by us a few days ago at an expanded session of the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Lithuania. A detailed and principled conversation took place concerning the state of affairs in construction. The decree which was adopted outlined specific measures to assure the fulfillment of the current year's plans and for the on-schedule turnover of all start-up projects. These measures supplement those assignments which were mentioned at the 15th Plenum of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee, when problems of capital construction were discussed.

Taking into consideration the complexity of the situation at the republic's most important construction project--the Mazheykiy Oil Refinery, the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee adopted a resolution to concentrate additional manpower and material resources on this project, utilizing therein the aid of industrial enterprises. The duty and the obligation of the managers of the Mazheykiy Construction Trust are to guarantee all the conditions for their highly productive labor.

Now going on in the republic is a great deal of purposive work by Party, Soviet, and economic-management organs with respect to improving the activities of the construction organizations, as well as assuring the fulfillment of state plans and socialist obligations. This is testified to by the results of the work of the construction organizations during the first six months of the current year.

No less complex tasks also confront the republic's industry. With the productive capacities, high technical level, and skilled personnel which our industry has at its disposal, the efficiency of its work should be considerably higher.

If the state of affairs in industry is analyzed more profoundly, then among the causes for lagging behind the five-year plan assignments with regard to production output, aside from low plan tempos, there are others which simply cannot be passed over in silence. Far from every ministry, association, and enterprise from the very first days of the five-year plan correlated its own plans and results with the five-year plan assignments. At times they were satisfied to fulfill merely the current plans. Among these today we can cite the ministries of the food industry, construction, the furniture and woodworking industry, and agriculture, the administration of the fishing industry, and a number of others. Also deserving to be reprimanded is the insufficient organizational work of a number of Party committees, Soviet organs, and economic managers engaged in mobilizing all labor groups in fulfilling the tasks of the five-year plan.

On several occasions Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out the need for stepping up the intensive factors in developing production; he also emphasized this with particular force at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. In this connection, I would like to dwell again on certain problems.

As we know, the possibilities for attracting additional manpower into industry, as well as into other sectors of the national economy, have narrowed down considerably. However, we are far from economically utilizing the existing labor reserves. As before, enterprises and associations are attracting into production a considerable amount of workers, without concerning themselves about implementing measures which would allow them to obtain a greater portion of the increase in industrial output by means of the growth of labor productivity. Not enough attention is being paid to the introduction of new equipment and technology into production. Practical experience has clearly shown that where the Party gorkoms and raykoms constantly keep track of the utilization of labor resources, and where every instance of an exceeding of the number of workers is provided with a principled evaluation, that is where there is more order. Deserving of attention and approval is the work being done in this direction by the Vilnius and Alitus Party gorkoms.

The republic's Gosplan and Goskontrud must in the very near future work out a precise and definite program of organizational and practical measures for strengthening the plan principles in utilizing labor resources, as well as increasing discipline and responsibility in this matter. All this must be done without delay so that from the first day of the 11th Five-Year Plan on this system of measures will have been put into operation.

Insufficient attention is still being paid to a problem of such importance to the national economy as labor productivity. The number of enterprises which have not coped with the growth of labor productivity is being reduced all too slowly in this republic. The task of fulfilling the plans for the growth of labor productivity must become one of the principal tasks in the struggle to improve work efficiency and quality.

This also requires the most rational use of every working minute. For due to losses in working time the national economy is underproducing its output by a considerable amount. Moreover, a large portion of these losses are linked with a low level of labor discipline. Judge for yourselves: two-thirds of the losses in working time can be attributed to unauthorized absences and departures with the permission of the administration. Matters stand badly with regard to labor discipline at enterprises of the food and local industries, construction, and agricultural construction, meat and dairy industries. We must adopt all measures to strengthen labor discipline and eliminate losses of working time in production.

Speeding up scientific and technical progress requires particular attention. The core of this extremely important problem is the most rapid introduction of the achievements of science and technology into practice and strengthening the connection between science and production. This is the path, by proceeding along which, we can significantly increase the efficiency and improve the quality of the entire national economy's work. The struggle for technical progress is a long-term, everyday matter, requiring the constant attention of the Party. We must improve the practice of adjusting the connections between science and production. This is all the more important when we consider that the results of scientific research are still too slowly being introduced into the national economy. Not yet all managers of our ministries and departments, production associations and enterprises are effectively carrying out the requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress that it is necessary to draw all participants in social production and all units of the economic mechanism into the development of scientific and technical progress.

On their part, our scientific institutions have not done everything to successfully solve this problem. Among the republic's scientific-research institutions there are still some which are operating with a low yield. From day to day we must improve the quality and raise the level of developments, take all possible measures to develop scientific research which is directed at raising the level of production, equipment, and technology, as well as the organization of labor and management.

The interests of further developing the national economy and speeding up scientific and technical progress require that the workers in science and production find a common language more rapidly and establish closer, business-like contacts.

Considerable reserves for increasing the efficiency of industrial operations are hidden within the fuller utilization of production capacities, as well as in the prudent and economical utilization of raw materials and other materials. I would particularly like to emphasize the importance to the national economy of the rational utilization of fuel and energy resources. We are now entering upon the most important period of preparing industry, like all other sectors, for operations during the period of autumn and winter. It is extremely important to carry out on schedule the entire complex of measures to assure the continuous and smooth operation of every labor group.

We all know how important it is to have a precise transport operation. Although for the past five months railroad and motor-vehicle transport has managed to cope with the established plans, nevertheless, the state of affairs with regard to the hauling of goods important to the national economy still provides cause for serious concern. Transport, and particularly rail transport, still fails to guarantee the increasing volumes of hauls, and it does not run smoothly. The situation with regard to the hauling of plan goods has become especially worse at the present time.

The railroad divisions must adopt the most decisive measures with regard to meeting the requirements of the national economy for freight hauls in accordance with the established plans and also to compensate in a maximum way for the shortages in delivering railroad cars which was permitted during the first six months of this year.

Although our industry has done quite a bit to better satisfy the demand for consumer goods, the industrial enterprises and sectors producing these goods still have a long way to go to meet the public demand. Not everywhere is full use being made of production capacities and other production reserves; there are certain difficulties in assuring raw materials and other materials. The meat and dairy, fish, and food industries, as well as a number of enterprises under All-Union Jurisdiction, are lagging behind the tasks of the five-year plan.

The food industry is on the eve of mass procurements of agricultural raw materials. We must assure fully and on-schedule not only the fulfillment of the tasks of procuring fruits and vegetables but also to significantly overfulfill them, to more persistently solve the problems of assuring the production of raw materials.

As you see, the satisfaction of the growing demands of the workers depends not only on the workers in trade but also on industrial enterprises. In this connection it is very important to increase their mutual cooperation in seeking out additional trade resources.

Large and complex tasks must be solved in the area of agriculture. Party, Soviet, and agricultural organs, along with all the farmers in the republic, in carrying out the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, as well as those of the July, 1978 and November, 1979 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, have labored intensively and purposively. And they have applied a great deal of effort to overcome difficulties in order to fulfill the assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

One of the most important tasks in agriculture is the further development of grain farming and the creation of a firm fodder base for livestock raising. In this regard a good foundation has now been laid. Despite the cold and prolonged spring, the spring sowing was carried out within extremely compact time periods and on well-prepared, fertilized soils. With the exception of legumes, the sowing plans were fulfilled for all crops, on all farms,

and in all rayons. Sections of perished winter crops were reseeded only with spring grain crops. For the first time in the structure of the sown areas grain and leguminous crops occupy 52 percent instead of 50 percent, as outlined by the measures of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee with regard to fulfilling the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. In comparison with last year, their area has been increased. At the present time the condition of the spring crops and most of the winter crops is fine. To put it plainly, there is a good prospect for fulfilling the five-year plan with respect to grain production.

As you know, the republic's grain growers this year have pledged to gather at least 28 quintals of grain from each hectare this year. This is completely realizable. Ahead, however, there still lies a great deal of tedious and detailed work. The successful carrying out of these pledges will depend upon the up-to-date, well-organized, and high-quality harvesting of the crop which will be raised.

At an All-Union conference in Krasnodar and in a speech delivered there by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, valuable directions were provided with regard to the upcoming harvest and the fulfillment of plans for the procurement of agricultural produce. On each farm and rayon we must without delay work out and implement specific measures for carrying out repairs and preparation of harvesting equipment, drying systems, and means of transport. On all farms we must introduce on a broad scale advanced methods for the utilization and technical servicing of equipment, organization of harvesting operations on the basis of using mechanized complexes. And we must achieve the greatest possible labor productivity among the machinery operators along with excellent work quality and the maximum utilization of the capacities of the harvesting machinery.

We must especially emphasize the need for thorough preparation for harvesting crops under the very worst conditions. For this purpose every farm should now have a supply of the appropriate equipment and other necessary means in order to do this. It is particularly important that in no instance should the start of the harvest be delayed.

At the same time it is also necessary on all farms as well as on enterprises in the Ministry of Procurement system to check out all storage areas, drying, grain-threshing, and transport facilities, and to bring all these units into complete readiness on time. It is likewise very important to have complete crews of machinery-operators for the harvesting equipment. All these problems must be considered in a comprehensive manner.

We must also assure proper care for sowings of potatoes, sugar beets, flax, and vegetables so that they will produce high crop yields and fulfill the plan for the current year and the five-year plan on the whole for the sale to the state of these crops and other farm produce. It is particularly important to eliminate the negative balance for the past few years with regard

to sugar beets. It is already necessary to outline the close cooperation during harvest time between all the rayon enterprises and services, to assure the carrying out of the entire complex of harvesting operations in a single flow, as well as the necessary maneuvering of machines, and to decisively struggle against harvest losses.

An exceptionally important task is the procurement of a sufficient quantity of high-quality feeds. In this republic we have worked out and approved precise plans for measures with regard to carrying out this very important task. Corresponding plans for measures have been worked out in each farm and rayon. Throughout the republic as a whole it is now necessary to procure more of the following than last year: hay--by 34 percent, hay products--by 47 percent, grass meal and chopped straw--by 28 percent, silage--by 18 percent, fodder root crops--by 81 percent. By the coming winter season we have the task of procuring in an average per conventional head of cattle 20 quintals of feed units. Specific assignments have been made for each rayon and farm. The main thing now is to manage it so that these assignments will be met.

However, the rates of procuring feeds at the present time are still unsatisfactory. On 30 June in the republic only 54 percent of the hay and natural grasses had been mown. These operations have been particularly poorly organized on many farms of the Raseynskiy, Ignalinskiy, Shakyayakiy, Vilnius, and Pakruoyakiy Rayons, where only 42--48 percent of the hay had been mown, and hay procurements had amounted to only 8--30 percent of the plan. Individual rayons, such as the Lazdiyskiy, Zarasayskiy, Ionavskiy, Birzhayakiy, Trakayskiy, and several others are lagging behind in marking out haylots. On farms of the Vilnius, Zarasayskiy, Shvencheskiy, Moletskiy, and certain other rayons poor use is being made of units for preparing vitamin grass meal.

The most constant attention must be paid to the universal use of progressive technology in procuring feeds and in assuring their high quality. It is necessary now to utilize all possible variants of procuring feeds, as applied to any weather conditions. During unpleasant days it is necessary, in the first place, to organize haylot and silage production from developed grass. Here it is necessary to utilize conservants as broadly as possible. Each hour of good weather must be utilized to produce hay, with the active-ventilation units loaded fully. Units being used to produce grass meal and chopped straw should operate around the clock. In connection with the fact that more fuel must be expended to produce grassy meal during rainy weather, we should use for this feed primarily the most valuable lucerne grass, clovers, and other leguminous grasses.

It is appropriate to remind ourselves once more that farms which lag behind in their haying not only lower the quality of feeds but will also inflict losses on the crop aftermath.

In order to meet as fully as possible the needs of livestock raising for feeds, it is necessary this year, as it was last year, to procure as much

grassy and leafy masses as possible in non-farm and forest lands. For this purpose we must recruit all the able-bodied rural population, inhabitants of cities, rayon centers, students and pupils, and groups of sponsoring organizations to conduct mass "subbotniki" (voluntary Saturdays).

For the purpose of improving the quality of feeds, the following task has been set--before 1981 to construct on every farm good facilities for storing all hay products and silage. Industrial, construction, and other ministries are recruited as patrons for the construction of pits. Last year the task for constructing them was successfully completed. However, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the "El'fa" Association for Producing Electric Motors, the "Litenergostroy" Administration for the Construction of Power Engineering Projects, the "Tsentrolit" Kaunas Plant, as well as a number of departments and organizations this year have done poorly in building hay and silage pits. Urgent measures must be adopted everywhere for the unconditional fulfillment of the tasks of building these facilities. The appropriate Party gorkoms and raykoms are responsible for this.

As is well-known, comrades, the difficulties in plant and fodder production during recent years have been directly reflected in the rate of development of livestock production. The winter period this past year was particularly bad for cattle. Thanks to the aid of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government as well as the measures which were adopted in time by the Bureau of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers, as well as by Party, Soviet, and agricultural organs in the localities, and by labor groups of livestock raisers, we succeeded to a large degree in overcoming the difficulties which arose and in preserving the herd. Thereby we preserved a base for increasing the production and sale to the state of the products of livestock raising during the concluding year of the 10th Five-Year Plan and during the ensuing years.

However, as a result of a reduction of livestock productivity and a number of other indicators of intensity during the nine months of this year's winter period in comparison with the corresponding period of 1978/79 milk production has decreased, and there has been a reduction in the total weight of livestock. This has led to a reduction in the level of procurements of milk, livestock, and poultry.

We are confronted with the task of completing the present year and the five-year plan as a whole as successfully as possible and of fulfilling the plan and our socialist pledges with regard to the production and sale to the state of products of livestock raising. In the first place, this requires the maximum and effective utilization of the favorable conditions of the pasture period and an increase in the mobilizing role of socialist competition.

It is very important now to increase to the maximum the average milk yields per cow as well as the gross milk production. This applies particularly to

the Akmyanskiy, Kretingskiy, Mazheyskiy, Raseynski, and Ukmergakiy Rayons, on whose farms these indicators still continue to lag behind last year's level. It is also necessary to utilize all the possibilities to increase the head of cows and to reduce their culling to a minimum.

In the matter of increasing the production and state procurements of meat, the principle efforts of the Party, Soviet, and agricultural organs, Party organizations, managers and farm specialists at the present time must be concentrated on restoring the intensity and qualitative indicators of production. Particular attention must be devoted to increasing the average daily weight increments of livestock in feeding and to increasing its weight conditions. It should be emphasized that a poor management attitude toward this matter has been exhibited by managers in the Birzhayskiy, Kupishkiy, and Alitunski Rayons, whose farms during the month of June, even though they had a sufficient quantity of green feeds, provided the state with milk calves which were 300 kilograms under the average weight. This must not be allowed. We must strictly demand and make sure that the weight of milk calves, including those owned by the people privately, should have a weight of no lower than 420 kilograms.

Attention has been drawn on several occasions to the necessity for a more rapid development of pig farming. Not everywhere, however, is enough importance accorded to this matter. In the Alitunski, Vilni, Ukmergaki, and Vilkavishski Rayons a considerable decrease has been allowed in the head of pigs, as compared to last year. On the farms of the Rokishkiy, Vilnius, Kupishkiy, and Kretingski Rayons there has been a 3--6 percent decrease in the numbers of newly born piglets. The assignment of the first six months with regard to piglet production in this republic was fulfilled by only 98 percent. We must immediately proceed to analyze in the localities involved the causes of this lag and do everything necessary so that every rayon and farm will be sure to carry out the measures which were outlined for 1980 with regard to the development of pig farming.

It should also be noted that in order to supplement the foodstuff resources, we must make better use of the potentials of the personal, private farms which are owned by the population.

Comrades!

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his report, it is certain that in the course of the sampling period under review the Party's international activities will also be examined. We see that our Party has not spared any effort to safeguard and strengthen peace, to preserve detente, to achieve a turn towards disarmament, and to support the right of peoples to free and independent development.

The active and purposeful activities of our country, as well as those of the countries belonging to the socialist community, along with the growth of the economic and defensive might of all the socialist countries, have facilitated

the increased health of the international situation. However, in recent times the imperialist forces, and primarily the leaders of the United States, have undertaken a course of stepping up the arms race, committing provocations against the socialist and other independent states, and they have unleashed a vicious anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign.

On this basis there has occurred a rapprochement between the aggressive circles of the West, and primarily those of the United States of America, with the Chinese leadership.

The Plenum also noted that the intrigues of imperialism and the other foes of peace require constant vigilance and a universal strengthening of our state's defense capabilities in order to cut short imperialism's plans to achieve military superiority and to carry out a worldwide dictatorship.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee fully approved the measures which have been adopted to render multifaceted aid to Afghanistan in the cause of repelling armed attacks and interference from without, the purpose of which is to smother the Afghan revolution and to create a pro-imperialist staging area for military aggression on the southern borders of the USSR. The Plenum came out in favor of a political regularization of the situation which has taken shape around Afghanistan which would lead to a policy of non-annexation. At the Plenum it was pointed out that at the present time life in Afghanistan is gradually returning to its normal course. Large bands of counterrevolutionaries have been smashed, and interventionists have suffered a serious defeat. In connection with this, the Soviet Union, upon agreement with the Afghan government, has decided to withdraw certain units of its military contingent in Afghanistan.

The Plenum's unanimous approval of the Leninist foreign-policy course being followed by our country has demonstrated once again to the entire world its love of peace, consistency, and lofty principles, its bent for the defense of the world and international security.

Comrades!

The mass information media have been called upon to constantly maintain in the center of attention all the tasks which have been set forth by the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, to profitably and convincingly disclose the initiatives of the labor groups and progressive workers of production, to support in all ways the increased socialist pledges which have been adopted in honor of the 26th Party Congress.

In our ideological work it is necessary to convincingly and widely propagandize the Leninist, peace-loving, foreign-policy course of the CPSU, to decisively expose the imperialist preachers of the "cold war," who are threatening to set the world on the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

Bourgeois propaganda and the anti-communist, anti-Soviet forces have not stacked, nor do they intend to stack, their arms. Every day they pour out a whole flood of lies, as well as trumped-up charges, against our country and the fraternal socialist countries.

By its ideological activity the republic's Party organization has inflicted and is now inflicting tangible blows against bourgeois propaganda. In the future we must continue to wage an unreconcilable and uncompromising struggle against the bourgeois ideology and its diversions.

Comrades!

In a few days we will mark a notable holiday--the 40th anniversary of the restoration of the Soviet regime in Lithuania. There is no doubt that it will be held under the aegis of that great upsurge which has been brought about by the decisions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and that it will demonstrate once again the monolithic solidarity of the republic's workers around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, along with their determination to carry out those tasks which the Party has set before them.

Comrades, let us assure the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, that the Communists and all the workers in this republic are not sparing their efforts to solve all the problems confronting us, and they will work so as to arrive at the 26th party congress with new achievements in all the sectors of building communism.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN PARTY AKTIV MEETS ON POWER ENGINEERING PROBLEMS

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Jul 80 p 1

[Gruzinform report: "Resolve Problems in an Integrated Way"]

[Text] The tasks of collectives of power engineering workers, builders, and scientists in the republic were discussed by a meeting of the aktiv of workers of the power engineering enterprises of the Georgian SSR, held on 19 July in the Georgian CP CC. It was participated in by representatives of party, soviet, and economic organs and scientific-research and project-planning organizations.

The report was delivered by GCP CC Secretary Z. A. Chkheidze.

Discussion of the report was participated in by Gruzglavenergo Head Yu. E. Chediya, Gruzgidroenergostroy Trust Manager M. A. Tsiskarishvili, Georgian Gosplan Institute of Economics and Planning of the National Economy Deputy Director K. N. Charkviani, Rustavi Metallurgy Plant Director O. N. Suladze, GSSR Deputy Minister of Agriculture S. P. Dzhindzhikhadze, Georgian Gosplan Division Chief R. D. Kikiani, Kavkazelektroset'stroy Trust Manager N. A. Guntsadze, Zestafoni Ferroalloy Plant Director G. B. Kashakashvili, Gruzgoskomsel'khoshtekhnika Chief Power Engineer K. D. Dzhashi, InguriGES Chief Engineer Sh. A. Maysuradze, and Tbilgidroproyekt Institute Chief Specialist P. V. Dzhordzhadze.

The keynote speaker and other speakers noted that in the past ten years the installed capacity of Georgia's power plants has almost doubled, reaching four million kilowatts. The volume of capital investments in the electrical power sector has more than quadrupled in the current five-year plan compared with the Ninth Five-Year plan. In the past four years, 1.3 million kilowatts of new power capacity have been put into operation, two GES's of the Vartsikhe Cascade have been built, and the last, fifth unit of the InguriGES is being brought on line. Grid operations have also been further developed.

Participants in the meeting stressed, nevertheless, that the current state of Georgia's electrical power and the rate of growth of generation of electricity are not meeting the rising needs of the national economy. Recently, the satisfaction of fuel and energy resource requirements has involved certain difficulties, thus adversely affecting the rhythmical operation of both industry and agriculture.

Successful resolution of the republic's energy problem in order to accomplish new goals in economic development will require reliance on two basic factors--a faster pace of construction and optimal growth of capacity, and strict conservation, thrift, and effective utilization of energy.

At the November 1979 CPSU CC Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that heat and energy conservation will continue to be a most vital national task. Participants in the meeting noted that work being done in the republic to conserve fuel and energy resources is not yet fully up to the standards set forth at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The relevant project-planning and scientific-research institutes will have to do their part in promoting power engineering development and technical progress.

The fuel production industry can to a certain extent make up the shortage of electricity. Participants in the meeting, accordingly, pointed out that the collectives of Gruzneft' and Gruzugol' production associations will have to implement effective measures to put new facilities into operation and boost production.

Resolution of these tasks and accelerated development of power engineering will require radical restructuring of the work methods and style of scientists, project-planners, power builders, and operation workers. Ministry, department, and organization officials will have to rethink their attitude toward power engineering.

A considerable amount of work with regard to supplying the economy and the population with electricity is being done by Gruzglavenergo. As was pointed out at the meeting, however, the party organizations of its enterprises will have to get more deeply involved in problems of technical operations, show more concern for accident prevention, and deal vigorously with other shortcomings, in particular high losses of electricity in transmission.

Timely commissioning of power facilities and prompt elimination of developing difficulties and "bottlenecks" in overall power management largely depend on the work of local party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, the quality of which must be enhanced in every way.

Participants in the meeting expressed firm confidence that the collectives of Georgia's power enterprises and all party members will diligently strive

to ensure unconditional completion of plan targets and socialist obligations during the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, greet the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th GCP Congress with new labor accomplishments, and lay a firm foundation for successful operations in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The aktiv meeting was participated in by Georgian Trade Union Council Chairman T. I. Mosashvili and GCP CC division heads B. Z. Barsukov and B. D. Makharashvili.

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REGIONAL

PARTY MEMBERS IN DRUNK TANKS HIDE IDENTITIES

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Article by A. Shevchuk under rubric "Order Around Us": "What's a Postman Doing Here?..."]

[Text] The peak hours of operation begin after eight or nine o'clock in the evening at the Tbilisi sobering-up station where I went to find out what charge is later brought against those who have disrupted order in public places while in a drunken state. Let me say from the outset that I was not interested in all the clients of the drunk tank but only in those who, however shameful it may seem, are members of the party. Obviously, charges brought against them should be more severe. But how does this work out in practice?

The management of the Tbilisi sobering-up station keeps individual records of party members who have been there. A check revealed, however, that the records are not accurate. Here's why. Most clients of the drunk tank are not distinguished by their honesty--they try to give completely or partially false information about themselves. It is the duty of the officers of the rayon division of internal affairs who brought them in to determine the accuracy of the information after the client has been sobered up. In most cases, however, they confine themselves to determining only the identity of the client, his place of residence, and his occupation. The question of party membership is rarely verified. Thus it happens that drunk tank clients who are not party members are sometimes registered in the party member list, and, contrariwise, certain CPSU members are registered there as non-party members. The confusion is easily explained: brought into the drunk tank, some people deliberately conceal the fact that they are party members, while others, naively thinking that a party member will get off easily, deliberately falsify their party status.

Such was the action of Guram Chiaureli, a designer in the machine shop of the Tbilisi Silk Production Association, who said he was a party member when he was brought into the drunk tank, although he is not. To be sure, the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon division of internal affairs sent the report on the matter to the facility after a delay of 18 days, in a letter

numbered 68/13-959. There was no follow-up response to the information. Why? M. Burdali, secretary of the association's party organization, explained that they did not receive any letter from the militia concerning Chiaureli.

In connection with this, we have to point out a certain puzzling pattern: letters sent by internal affairs organs to the workplaces of drunk tank clients somehow mysteriously disappear in transit. Are the postal workers to blame? It may be that in rare cases they really are to blame for letters going astray. But these cases are all too frequent, and it inevitably leads us to think that sometimes reports received from the drunk tank are simply not entered into the log of incoming documents, so as not to put another black mark on the collective's records, so to speak. But since it is practically impossible to prove this, it seems to us that what is needed is to work out a system of accurately reporting to enterprise, organization, and institution officials on employees who have been brought to the drunk tank in order to determine accurately in each specific case who is to blame for losing the particular information from the internal affairs organs, or whether it was in fact sent at all.

On 3 March of this year, Tbilisi Experimental Furniture Factory Intermediate Shop Chief Elgudza Lachkebiani, a CPSU member, was brought to the drunk tank by officers of the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon division of internal affairs. On 18 March this was reported to his workplace in a letter numbered 87/5. There was no response. R. Suladze, secretary of the enterprise's party organization, told me that they never received this report and did not know that Lachkebiani had been taken to the drunk tank. Party member Georgiy Kanoyev, a foreman in Shop No 3 of the Tbilisi Production Combine of the Georgian Music and Choral Society, was listed in the records of drunk tank clients. A letter about this was sent by the Kalininskiy Rayon division of internal affairs to the combine. Again, no response was forthcoming. V. Kvardzheyshvili, secretary of the enterprise's primary party organization, stated that the letter the militia sent was never received, and nothing was known about a case of Kanoyev.

These are not, unfortunately, isolated cases. And we cannot, therefore, refrain from reproaching those militia officers who, having received no response to their report after one month's time, do not send a follow-up inquiry and see to it that the labor collectives properly assess instances of drunkenness involving their staff members.

Attention is also drawn to another factor: militia officers sometimes report drunk tank clients to their employers and sometimes not. To be sure, this is in full accordance with the GSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase dated 14 September 1972, "Measures to Strengthen Efforts Against Drunkenness and Alcoholism," which states, in particular, that "militia organs have the right to warn the violator or to submit a report for the examination of the social organization, worker collective, or comrades court at the violator's place of employment, school, or residence instead of imposing a fine for

excessive drinking of alcoholic beverages in public places or showing up in an inebriated condition." Thus, the violator faces the threat of a fine (not very high) or a warning, or, finally, being reported to his place of employment or residence. Naturally, most drunk tank clients prefer the warning. Nor do they object to a fine. Publicity is what they want least of all. Everything in this depends on the militia officer. This is why any citizen who is brought into the drunk tank and is by no means desirous of the fact becoming known at his place of employment will always try to make a deal with the militia officer.

To this day, people at his place of employment do not know that party member Teymuraz Kiknadze, a senior engineer in the GSSR Ministry of Communications, was brought into the drunk tank. Officers of the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon division of internal affairs decided not to report him to the ministry, instead confining themselves to a talk with the client. In the same way, officers at the Kalininskiy Rayon division of internal affairs confined themselves to a verbal warning to party member Guram Gloveli, chief of Housing Operations Office No 66 of the same rayon.

I should add that some of the primary party organization officials with whom I talked expressed serious doubts that the militia organs really submitted the information, even in cases where the officers can state the exact month and date and number of the report they submitted concerning an employee brought into the drunk tank. As for some militia officers, they scornfully stated that in many organizations their reports are simply thrown into the wastebasket and then the claim is made that the report was never received. And so we get a vicious circle.

This is clear proof, unfortunately, that we have yet to create a unified front against the social evil of drunkenness. Because there are still too many factors that have not been thought through in the militia organs' efforts to detect and then punish persons who are inclined to excessive drinking. And also because many officials all too clearly lack the desire to lead the collectives they head into uncompromising battle against drunkenness, to promote active social discussion, to create an atmosphere of general intolerance toward those who cannot run their lives without constant drinking.

We will not suggest to the party's rayon committees just how they should maintain contact with the Tbilisi sobering-up station. But one thing is clear: this facility ought to be constantly in their awareness, because every party member who winds up there deserves the party's condemnation.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

EDITOR DISCUSSES POLICY, DIRECTIONS OF UKRAINIAN PRESS

Kiev POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA in Russian No 11, Jun 80 pp 23-25

[Article by V. Serobaba, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Union of Journalists, editor of the newspaper RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA: "On the Horizon of a Journalistic Quest"]

[Text] The treasure house of the Leninist theoretical heritage contains many works devoted to the role of the press in public life. We accept the great leader's directive as a political precept for party journalists: "We must make it the continuous job of publicists to write the history of the present and to try to write it in such a way that our chronicle brings the most possible assistance to the direct participants in the movement and to the hero-proletarians at the scene of the action, and to write it in a way that will contribute to the expansion of the movement, and to the conscious selection of the means, techniques and the methods of struggle which are capable of yielding the most and the soundest results with the least expenditure." (Poln. sobr. soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 9, p 208)

V. I. Lenin formulated that task, which is one of the main tasks of party publicism, as long ago as 1905, at the start of the first Russian revolution. But how topical and vital it sounds even today! We were all reminded of it again recently by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, when he was awarded the Lenin Prize for his books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" and "Tselina." He emphasized that writing about the present in a way that will bring assistance to the practical cause of the party and of our people continues to be the most important duty of the Soviet press; Leonid Il'ich went on to say:

"To encroach upon practical life, to help the people to understand more clearly the meaning of this life and its direction, to help make this life better, more correct, brighter and richer not only materially but also spiritually, what can be more important and more noble? This is the standard which the party uses in approaching ideological work in all of its forms."

A year ago the CPSU Central Committee adopted a decree "Concerning the Further Improvement of Ideological, Political-Indoctrination Work," which was the logical continuation and creative development of the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and constituted a program of actions for all party cadres in the cause of the communist indoctrination of the working people. And it is a program for us journalists, too. The most important requirement is to give all indoctrination, informational and propaganda work a new, high-quality tone and a lively, creative nature. For those who work in the mass propaganda and information media that means concretely that they must have a flexible knowledge of the essential problems of political, economic and social development, which are being put forward at a given moment by the party; they must be able not only to talk to people correctly and competently about these problems, they must also take all pains to ensure that the conversation with the reader, the television viewer and the radio listener is lively in form and content, emotional and prepossessing.

The report and election conferences, which were held recently by the republic's journalistic organizations at Leninist anniversary meetings of the editorial boards of newspapers, magazines, publishing houses, television and radio, and information agencies, devoted most of their attention to an analysis of how we are fulfilling the CPSU CC decree on ideological questions, i.e., what we have already managed to do, what the concrete results of the journalistic quest have been, and which weak areas should be emphasized in order to improve our work.

It is probably still too early to resort to broad generalizations--the work to fulfill the party directives is at its height, and the creative search is being carried out at all levels of our information and propaganda structure--from the large-circulation newspapers and local radio to the republic's publications inclusively. The palette is broad and multicolored, but, of course, not everything has been tried and tested by life. On the horizon of the quest, however, a number of the leading trends have been eloquently defined; these will be the subject of discussion.

It can be claimed unmistakably that in the past year the overwhelming majority of our newspapers and magazines have experienced to some degree a joyful process of renewal affecting both essential content and characteristic form. And in this pleasing process I would assign top priority to the increased publicistic voice of many publications. What is the basis for this thought? A number of factors should be noted here. One of these is especially worthy of notice: after the CC CPSU decree, the editorial boards of many print organs have been developing comprehensively and profoundly the issues of ideological, indoctrination work. Journalistic attention has been focussed on people--on those who educate and those who are educated and on their interactions, interests and life problems. And for this reason the newspaper columns have become more human. Although, unfortunately, one frequently finds articles and letters which are little different from

technical instructions or official reports; however, these are being displaced more and more by reports about people of labor, on-the-spot reporting, readers' reflections on current topics, and correspondence on important economic and social problems.

To be specific, we at RADYAN'SKA UKRAYINA, for example, have begun to print on a regular basis weighty expository material under the heading "Pen of the Publicist"; reflections on the latest news of the day are provided by the sections called "Publicist's Column," "Politics--the Cause of the People," "Opinion of a Scientist" and others. PRAVDA UKRAINY now often devotes the Sunday lead article to the best people of the republic.

A number of newspapers have introduced special pages devoted to a particular theme or selections of news items on a single subject; publicistic means are used to develop a comprehensive approach to ideological work as presented on these pages. The Oblast newspaper INDUSTRIAL'NOYE ZAPOROZH'YE, in particular, devotes them to the formation of an active life position for the Soviet people. The republic's Komsomol newspaper MOLOD' UKRAYINY has called its new "educational" section "Uroki grazhdanstvennosti." SIL'SKI VISTI, takes a differentiated approach to conversation with its readers on the subjects of indoctrination by introducing the thematic pages "Verbichen'ka" and "Gody molodyye." The first is devoted to the life of women workers in the villages, and the second is devoted to rural youth.

In their purposeful development of subjects related to indoctrination issues, the editorial boards of many publications give first priority to propaganda for the Soviet way of life, the friendship of USSR peoples and socialist internationalism, the indoctrination of readers through the use of the positive example of the work of the best labor collectives, the best workers and production innovators, examples of actual specific cases of a communist attitude toward labor and assertions of communist ethics and morals.

In my opinion, there is very useful and creative cooperation in this regard between journalists and organs of the press in Moscow, and Kiev, D'nyanovsk and L'viv, Kuzbass and Donbass, the Kuban', the Crimea and Kherson, Chernigov, Bryansk and Gomel' and all the oblasts of our republic and the friends with whom we compete in the oblasts of other USSR republics and the twinned oblasts in the socialist countries. They issue on a regular basis combined issues of newspapers; they exchange theme pages, and they propagandize on a mutual basis the best experience in political and economic work and in social and cultural construction.

Propaganda for the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state carried in the republic's press is improving noticeably. The words of Ukrainian publicists resound in defense of peace and friendship among peoples.

Our newspapers, magazines, television and radio convincingly disprove the provocative fabrications of the bourgeois propagandists and their nationalistic and Zionist stooges, who weave fables to discredit our Soviet way of life. Recently the Znaniye Society put out a collection of articles from the newspaper **RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA** to help the ideological aktiv; the articles expose the perfidious operational methods of the Voice of America, BBC, Liberty and Free Europe radio stations and of other bourgeois radio diversion centers. They showed who works at these stations and for how much they sell their "goods."

Colorful, persuasive counterpropaganda publications are issued by the oblast newspapers **RADYANS'KA VOLIN'**, **VIL'NA UKRAYINA**, **RADYANS'KA DONECHCHYNA**, **RADYANSK'KA BUKOVINA**, and by the L'vov Komsomol newspaper **LENINS'KA HOLOD'**.

The conclusion that the publicistic voice of the republic's press has been improving markedly is confirmed by the following incontrovertible fact: in addition to the names, well known to our reader, of our leading publicists, such as Mikola Podolyan, winner of the Ukrainian SSR State Prize, and Inna Barvinok, Vladimir Stadnichenko, Anatoliy Moskalenko and Dmitriy Prilyuk, who are all winners of the Yaroslav Galan Prize, the following people have recently become known for their creative labor and their colorful, timely publications: Nikolay Shibik, Valeriy Minchenko, Leonid Dayem, Viktor Drozd and Nikolay Kiporenko, who are all Kiev journalists; Polikarp Shafeta, editor of **RADYANS'KA VOLIN'**; Lilya Shitova, editor of **CHERKAS'KA PRAVDA**; Stanislav Zakusilo from Chernigovshchina; Nikolay Toropovskiy, a young L'vov journalist and many others. The contingent of Ukrainian publicists is growing steadily, and this is a good sign for the elevation of publicistic writing itself.

The new trends in the journalistic quest have been clearly defined in the treatment given by the newspapers, television and the radio of the workers' socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the economic and social designs of the 25th CPSU Congress, and of the tasks of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. This has been observed here with particular clarity in the recent concentration of attention by all the mass information and propaganda media on the key problems in the development of the economy on the work to increase the efficiency of production and the quality of work. With the help of the worker-peasant correspondents, the press began to monitor the application of advanced production experience approved by the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The most important construction projects of the five-year plan have editors on temporary duty from the republic and oblast newspapers or they may have workers corespondence posts. The republic's journalists are sponsors for the program "Five-Year Plan--to the Children."

Organizational work now has come to include massive, well-coordinated public inspections by the press, television and radio to discover and put to use production reserves and to preserve socialist property. The inspections are carried out, as a rule, together with the party, soviet and public organs, and this gives them a high level of organization, operationality and efficiency.

In particular, the republic's public inspection of the use of fuel and energy, as well as of material and labor resources has become traditional: its organizers include the Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions, Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee and State Committee on Labor, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Komsomol, the editorial board of *RADYANS'KA UKRAINA* and by Ukrainian SSR State Television and Radio.

In the last year alone the inspection brigades collected from the labor collectives about 1 million valuable suggestions, 780,000 of which have been applied to production. As a result the following amounts have been saved: 2.3 billion kWh of electrical energy, 500,000 tons of fuel and lubricating materials, 320,000 tons of ferrous and nonferrous metals, 166,000 tons of cement and many other materials. The raw materials which were saved have been used to produce goods of various kinds with a total value of 103 million rubles.

The mass public inspection, which was carried out collectively by the mass information and propaganda media of Zaporozhskaya Oblast under the slogan "Manual Labor Onto the Shoulders of Machines!" has been of great practical benefit. An initiative by the workers' correspondents in the city of Zhdanov has resulted in the start of a public inspection of the organization of labor and the use of workers' time in industry and at construction sites. It, too, will bring positive results undoubtedly. In the villages the republic, oblast and rayon newspapers are working with the radio editors in the conduct of a large-scale inspection of the use of equipment in field work and in the preparation of the equipment for the harvest.

I would like to direct attention to another new idea, which was born in our republic and which has spread throughout the country. I have in mind the shift to daily publication at the height of the harvest season. This useful idea, which makes it possible to cover thoroughly and efficiently the competition among the grain growers at harvest time, was put forward by journalists of the regional press of Poltavskaya, Zaporozhskaya and Khersonakaya oblasts. Today this original idea has been applied in all oblasts. It is probably worth considering whether creative use of this idea can be made during other important agricultural campaigns.

Many newspapers have increased in recent times the attention which they give to letters to the editor, and to the search for new forms of mass work with their readers. *RADYNS'KA UKRAYINA*, for example, now has

affiliated with it a public council of enterprise and farm managers, a headquarters to publicize socialist competition in the village and a public reception room. RABOCHAYA GAZETA and the Ukrainian SSR State Television and Radio have created a joint public council to monitor the republic's output of consumer goods. Following the example of PRAVDA UKRAINY, many newspapers have begun to print replies from managers of party and soviet organs, from ministries and agencies to letters which workers send to the editor. And RADYANS'KA VOLIN' conducts "Open Letter Day" in the cities and rayons of the oblast; it is held in the labor collectives directly.

The board of directors of the Ukrainian Union of Journalists is directing the oblast and primary organizations to ensure that every journalistic quest finds the necessary support, every useful initiative becomes widely known. But it is also necessary to see inadequacies as well as that which is positive. Not everything runs smoothly in our work. There are many mistakes as well. The seminar-practicums, which were held in Kiev and Slavyansk and which were devoted to the further improvement of the creative aspect of the newspapers, showed that we are sometimes slow to correct inadequacies, including those pointed out by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee, at a republic-wide meeting of the ideological aktiv in June of last year.

In particular, a superficial approach to journalistic work has still not been completely eliminated: he came, he saw, he wrote. He saw much, but without the necessary analysis, without a profound publicistic consideration of the new facts and phenomena of life. And they are, after all, in front of us. For example, important processes of the concentration and intensification of production and of the improvement of the economic mechanism are now taking place in industry and in the village. What progress is being made in the formation of scientific-production associations, and of agrarian-industrial complexes? And in relation to this, what social changes are taking place in the labor collectives? Profound journalistic treatment of these important issues of the day is still encountered all too infrequently in newspapers and on the television screen.

The effectiveness of the press, television and radio was emphasized at the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers in October 1979; the conference was directly concerned with instilling in journalists ideological maturity, high principles, and professional courage; it concerned, too, their willingness to intervene actively and for the benefit of society in the complex problems of life and production, in the difficult processes of public advancement. This requires from each of us high moral and political qualities, professional skill, profound conviction and serious knowledge. This should be the top priority concern of our creative organization as it indoctrinates journalistic personnel. Much is being done in this regard. However,

We must not fail to see that there is still much to be done to increase journalistic skill and to indoctrinate our publicists.

The Communist Party and our people put a high value on the daily creative labor of Soviet journalists. In the last year the following have received orders and medals of the Soviet Union: the L'vov oblast newspaper VIL'NA UKRAYINA, the Ivano-Frankovsk PRIKARPATS'KA PRAVDA, the Rovno CHERVONYI PRAPOR, RADYANS'KA VOLIN', the Ternopol' VIL'NE ZHITTYA, the republic's newspaper for youth KOMSOMOL'SKOYE ZNAMYA. Certificates of honor were presented by the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet to the Dumayskiy Rayon newspaper LENINS'KYM SHLYAKHOM in Khmel'nitskaya Oblast, to the Novoukrainskaya Rayon newspaper RADYANS'KE SELO in Kirovogradskaya Oblast, the Kakhovka city and rayon newspaper ZORYA KOMUNIZMU in Khersonskaya Oblast. A number of other publications, as well as many workers of the press, were also honored in this way. Our response to this party concern is more inspired work.

The journalists of the Soviet Ukraine are proud to be pupils of the Leninist publicistic school. As Il'ich taught, they are striving to write the magnificent history of our times with the greatest benefit for the practical cause of the party and the people.

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EDITORIAL STAFFS OF UKRAINIAN PUBLISHING HOUSES DESCRIBED

Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 30, Jul 80 p 12

[Article by A. Zhuk, Chief of the Administration of Personnel and Educational Institutions of the UkSSR Goskomizdat: "Skills to be Added"]

[Text] The ideological thrust, depth of content, preciseness of formulation, and exactness of factual material of books being published depend, to a considerable degree, not only on the author but also on the manuscript editor. Moreover, do we need to speak again about the editor's role in the destiny of a future book? Whether he has to deal with a scientific or a sociopolitical topic, whether he is verifying the canonical text of a classical work or working with a beginning writer--the editor must be a highly educated specialist in his business, a politically literate person.

Ukrainian publishing houses have more than 2,100 creative workers at their disposal. The overwhelming majority of them are people with a higher education, while the remainder are taking correspondence courses. Forty-one persons have academic degrees, 22 are members of the Union of Writers, 12 --the Union of Composers, 9--the Union of Artists, and 169--the Union of Journalists. Of course, their skills, enriched by practical experience, constantly need to be improved, renewed, and supplemented. This is why we ascribe such great importance to the organization of professional training and raising the skills of the editorial staffs.

During the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan 458 publishing workers graduated from the University of Marxism-Leninism, 235 underwent retraining in courses at the Moscow and Ukrainian Printing Institutes. Another 454 persons studied at the permanently operating courses of USSR Goskomizdat. All the publishing houses have created study groups, programs of classes have been worked out, as well as seminars, taking into account the specialized fields of the creative workers. These programs have provided for the study of the timely problems of the theory and practice of building communism, ways of further raising the ideological-scientific and artistic level of literature, along with an exchange of advanced experience in editing.

In conjunction with the UkSSR Ministry of Education more than 10 scientific conferences have been held in the "Radyans'ka shkola" Publishing House.

Here are the topics of some of them: "Problems in Preparing Textbooks for the Junior Grades," "Ways of Further Raising the Ideological-Scientific and Pedagogical Level of Methodological Publications," "The Role of Methodological and Reference Literature in Increasing the Effectiveness of Teaching Russian Language and Literature in Schools of the UkSSR,"....It is surely true that such conferences have a notable influence on the everyday activities of editors and, in the final analysis, have an effect on improving the quality of textbooks and methodological aids.

One of the forms effectively influencing the level of editing is the examination in classes for raising skills of surveys of literature concerning the complex problems of industrial development, agriculture, education, and health care. I have named only a few topics of the surveys, prepared by just one Main Administration of the Editorial Board of UkSSR Goskomizdat--those dealing with scientific-technical and educational literature. And, of course, surveys have been prepared in other editorial boards as well.

The managers of the editorial boards of the "Dnipro" Publishing House, for example, regularly exchange experience with workers of the Baltic Region's publishing houses. A unique form of instruction is something like a patronage of experienced directors of publishing houses over younger, recently appointed directors. Thus, genuine aid to the director of the "Kamenyar" Publishing House, M. Nechay, is rendered by his colleague from "Donbass," P. Bogdanov; analogous relations of a comradely transfer of skills and experience have taken shape in the case of the director of the "Karpaty" Publishing House, B. Gvardionov, with the director of "Tavriya", M. Goncharov.

Positive results are also being achieved by attracting the most skilled specialists in their fields to working with the comprehensive brigades of the UkSSR Goskomizdat in checking over the activities of a publishing house's groups in oblast centers. Conferences of publishing-house directors have become traditional in the main editorial boards, where important problems of daily work are examined, and acquaintance is made with new documents regulating the activity of this sector.

All these and many other forms of increasing skills are a part of the comprehensive measures with regard to fulfilling the directives contained in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Work of Selecting and Training Ideological Personnel in the Party Organization of Belorussia." Publishers began to regard problems of training even more seriously and thoughtfully after the publication of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Training Work." Particular attention is being paid to patriotic and international training, which is being carried on in the spirit of the approaching struggle against the bourgeois ideology.

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